

A CENTURY OF EDUCATION

1808—1908



H. BRYAN BINNS

T. J. MACNAMARA M.P. FOSTER WATSON

SYDNEY WEBB LL.B.

GRADAM WALLAS

8
12-7-12

157-218

THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

370.942

B51c

~~RECEIVED
LIBRARY~~

Return this book on or before the
Latest Date stamped below. A
charge is made on all overdue
books.

U. of I. Library

OCT 15 1940

MAY 11 1961

JAN -3 1963

JUL -2 1941

JUL 11 1944

JUL 14 1946

MAY 24 1950



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Alternates

A CENTURY OF EDUCATION

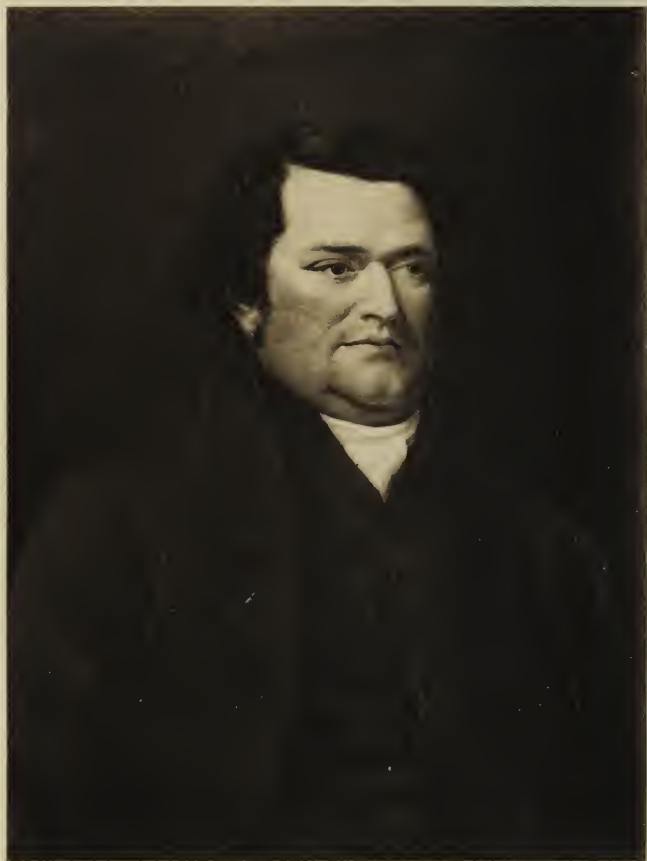
[*All rights reserved*]

Return this book on or before the
Latest Date stamped below. A
charge is made on all overdue
books.

University of Illinois Library

May 1, '47

M32—30715



J. S. Lawrence

A
CENTURY
OF
EDUCATION

BEING THE CENTENARY HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH & FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY
1808 - 1908

BY
HENRY BRYAN BINNS

Author of "Abraham Lincoln," etc. etc.

WITH APPENDICES BY
T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P. SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B.
PROF. FOSTER WATSON GRAHAM WALLAS



LONDON: J. M. DENT & CO.
29 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

MCMVIII

370.942
B51c

“ Dissenters call for one scheme of education, the Church objects; this party objects, and that; there is endless objection, by him and by her and by it: a subject encumbered with difficulties on every side! . . . In very truth, how can Religion be divorced from Education? An irreverent knowledge is no knowledge; may be a development of the logical or other handicraft faculty inward or outward; but is no culture of the soul of a man. . . . To ‘ teach ’ religion, the first thing needful, and also the last and the only thing, is finding of a man who *has* religion. All else follows from this, church-building, church-extension, whatever else is needful follows; without this nothing will follow.”

CARLYLE'S *Chartism* (1839).

PREFACE

THE story of the part played in the education of the people both at home and abroad by the British and Foreign School Society has never been told. Such references as are made to it in educational histories are usually quite inadequate. This is unfortunate, for we have short memories, and even those who are now most intimately associated with the society's work are already forgetting the great achievements and still greater hopes of its early days. Absorbed in work not less important, and cherishing hopes as high, they have had no available record of those who went before them.

I have no wish to exaggerate the importance of the society's work; I admit its limitations; but I am convinced that future historians will pay more attention to it than have such writers in the past. The records speak for themselves; but few hear them speak, for such records are not read, and hitherto their main outlines have hardly been presented to the general public.

Whatever their faults, and few can be more conscious of them than their writer, the following pages have at least this value: they publish for the first time much information without which any accurate estimate of our progress during the last century is impossible.

There seems to exist in some quarters a vague and most erroneous impression that the British Society was, and is, a body of well-meaning Nonconformists of mediocre intellectual ability and narrow horizon who represent the opposition to the National Church. It may be presumed that those who hold this view do not realise that the society has counted on its council many of the ablest men of the last three generations, men of the Anglican and every other religious view and denomination and of the highest distinction in every branch

of public life. The name of Lancaster may sometimes raise a smile—yet he ranks above Dr. Bell if he stands below Pestalozzi as an educationalist—but we can hardly smile at the long and illustrious list of his fellow-workers and supporters, among whom were the Duke of Kent, Lord Byron, Sidney Smith, the elder Mill, and David Ricardo; nor at their successors in later time, men like Lord John Russell, William Edward Forster, A. J. Mundella, Sir Joshua Fitch, with many not less distinguished who are still among us.

To the strong Quaker element which has always flavoured the society has, I believe, been due much of its freedom from that mere opposition to the Established Church which sometimes mars the public work of Dissenters. But the society has never for a moment been identified with Nonconformity. It has been truly unsectarian, truly national, in its aims and spirit, or rather, as its title implies, it has from the first been something more than national in aim, and its spirit has been universal.

Special interest must belong at this juncture in educational affairs to the story of that society which alone has stood firmly and effectively for unsectarian religious education throughout its life. Here, again, I think the Quaker element has been a source of strength: the society has based its work upon the Bible, and it is well known that the Quaker view of the Bible is at once practical, reverent, and progressive. I am glad to have been able to bring to light some new materials establishing Lancaster's membership in the Quaker body, and indicating the share taken by others of its members in the work; and I hope that the fascinating figure of Lancaster himself may emerge more clearly than heretofore from these pages.

The relations between the society and the government are of special interest, and I have been able to show that these began in 1814 with an application for a government grant. They led to the formidable secession, in 1848, of Samuel Morley and his friends, but then they also led to the Education Act of 1870.

Among the most interesting passages in the early history of the society is that relating to the Duke of Kent, the grandfather of our king. His father, George III., had wished that every poor child might be able to read the Bible; the duke in his turn declared he had always wished the poor should be instructed, "conceiving knowledge to be equally the right of the poor man and the rich." That was truly a liberal sentiment, far in advance of most of the cautious expressions of opinion made at that time. The duke undoubtedly took a warm and special personal interest in the work of the society both at home and abroad, using his powerful influence to further its objects in many quarters; and his early death was felt as a heavy blow. His interest was, however, continued both by his widow, who remained for many years the patroness of the society, and by his brother the Duke of Sussex.

If some readers may feel that I have done less than justice to the great work of the National Society for elementary education, I must plead the limitations of my subject. If I had been writing a general instead of a particular history, that work would naturally have occupied a very different position in this volume.

In reference to it I can hardly do better than quote here the acknowledgment recently made by the British Society in one of its annual reports:—

"During three generations the societies did their best in generous rivalry as educational missionary agencies: in the first period without, and subsequently with, the help of government grants, and it is universally admitted that the National Society covered the larger part of the field. Both societies endeavoured, in the measure of the support they received, to provide schools for the people whom the state wholly or partially neglected: the National Society offering church care for the children with such general education as could be combined therewith, the British and Foreign School Society making education the great concern and combining with it such Biblical instruction as could be given without trenching upon the province of the several churches or offending the consciences of any. Religious zeal outstripped educational zeal, and the National Society achieved great and glorious success—a success of which the country may well be proud."¹

¹ Report, 1906.

This book is based primarily upon the records preserved at the society's offices. There, in Temple Chambers, may be found the minute books of the general and other committees from the beginning, in 1808, until now, with the annual reports, and the volumes of the *Philanthropist* and *Educational Record*. Besides these I have of course made freest use of (1) Lancaster's own writings and the published accounts by Corston, Dunn, Fitch, Urwick, and others, but especially the invaluable life by Principal Salmon, and his supplementary essays in the *Record*, which I have freely drawn upon in the early chapters; (2) the Life of William Allen (1846-47); (3) the reports of special conferences, records in the Congregational Library, and in the Unitarian magazines, with pamphlets by Dunn and others; (4) the text-books, etc., of the society.

For the foreign part of the work, the principal source of information, beyond the reports and minutes, is a useful series of articles now appearing in the *Record*. Irish work is well described in Mr. H. K. Moore's *A Chapter of Unwritten History*.

Among individual biographies I ought specially to mention Mr. Graham Wallas's *Life of Place* and Mr. Bonwick's *An Octogenarian's Reminiscences* as throwing light on the earliest years. Most of the other books which I have quoted are referred to in the notes.

Beyond these is the personal help and advice ungrudgingly given to me by the officers of the society. I owe especial thanks to Mr. W. P. Williams and Mr. E. N. Fallaize in London, and to Mr. David Salmon at Swansea, for most kindly reading the book in MS. and making a number of invaluable suggestions.

There are many others who have helped me, to whom I offer sincere thanks; and I venture to hope that still others will make suggestions which may render more complete another edition of this history if such should be called for.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	INTRODUCTORY	PAGE
I. JOSEPH LANCASTER		I

PART I. THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY

From the Founding of the Society to the Reform Bill

II. LANCASTER'S COMMITTEE	31
III. THE LOSS OF LANCASTER	58
IV. THE BRITISH SOCIETY AT WORK	77
V. WORK AT HOME AND ABROAD	97

PART II. THE SECOND QUARTER

From the First Government Grant to the Duke of Newcastle's Commission

VI. STATE AID	121
VII. CONFERENCES AND CONTROVERSIES	134
VIII. A PERIOD OF CHANGE	157

PART III. THE THIRD QUARTER

From the Founding of Bangor and Stockwell, to that of Saffron Walden College

IX. NATIONAL EDUCATION TO THE ACT OF 1870	175
X. THE NORMAL COLLEGES	194
XI. AGENCY WORK	218

PART IV. THE FOURTH QUARTER

From Compulsory Education to the Incorporation of the Society

CHAPTER	PAGE
XII. "SCHOOLS FOR ALL"	229
XIII. A FRESH BEGINNING	239
XIV. THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN	256

APPENDICES

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	263
By T. J. Macnamara, M.P.	
SECONDARY EDUCATION	284
By Sidney Webb, LL.B.	
THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS	297
By Professor Foster Watson	
THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST .	308
By Graham Wallas	
INDEX	319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

JOSEPH LANCASTER (<i>photogravure</i>)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
WILLIAM ALLEN	PAGE 36
H.R.H. THE DUKE OF KENT	98
<i>(by kind permission of H.M. the King)</i>	
THE SIXTH DUKE OF BEDFORD	158
<i>(by kind permission of Lady Agatha Russell)</i>	
LORD JOHN RUSSELL (<i>photogravure</i>).	212

A CENTURY OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

JOSEPH LANCASTER

Scotch Education—Wordsworth on English Education—English Social Conditions—Sunday Schools—Charity Schools—Lancaster's Work—His Youth—His School in Borough Road—Free Scholars—His *Improvements*—Dr. Bell—Mrs. Trimmer—George III.'s Interest—Lancaster Marries—His Methods at Borough Road—Gets into Debt—Maiden Bradley—At the King's Bench—His Travels—Meets Fox.

IN an appendix to one of the reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor¹ is a brief survey of the Scotch laws relating to education, in which we may readily see one of the influences at work upon the minds of Englishmen of goodwill a hundred years ago, when they occupied themselves about the condition of their poorer neighbours. A note to this appendix states that when the Act of 1696, recently re-enforced, first came into operation there were in Scotland some 100,000 mendicants, "both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together"; but that "in the course of a few passing years" the Act produced so great a reform that now "there is no country in Europe in which, in proportion to its population, so small a number of crimes fall under the chastisement of the criminal law of Scotland." The language leaves much to be desired in perspicacity, but its general intention is obvious. As Sir Thomas Bernard, one of the founders, puts the matter in another of the society's publications: "An example has been offered of a nation puri-

¹ *Of the Education of the Poor, etc.*, 1809, pp. 263-4.

fied and corrected by the single remedy of education. Infested by mendicity, and by all the evils and vices which pertain to the association of thousands of mendicants, defying the laws of God and man, because hopeless of benefit under them—a single Act of the Parliament of Scotland, *providing instruction for all the children of the poor*, did, in the lapse of a few passing years, administer a perfect and lasting remedy for the greatest political evil by which a community can be afflicted. The national disease was not only cured, but, from the period of the operation of that Act, the peasantry in Scotland has stood on higher ground, and has possessed a more elevated scale of character, than in any other part of the world.”¹

We are not now concerned with the precise accuracy of these estimates. Their value for us lies in their existence. They go to prove that English philanthropists—I use the title in the best and original sense, and as such it is the highest that can be conferred—themselves convinced of the efficacy of popular education to remove certain crying social ills, were seeking at this time to convince all well-disposed persons by the evidence of contemporary experience across the border. It is interesting to observe the tone of Sir Thomas Bernard’s appeal. The poor are represented as having become evil through their despair—hopeless of benefit under the laws of God or man—and an Act of Parliament comes to them in the guise of an evangel. Ignorance is plainly regarded as the cause of their vice; and ignorance is also regarded as a political disorder, for which the remedy is to be sought in legislative action.

But Bernard’s appeal met with a retort which may best be taken from the pen of Wordsworth, although it was written by him before the publication of that appeal. It is as interesting in its point of view, and as typical of the earnest thought of the time.

It is exactly a hundred years ago (June 5, 1808) that the

¹ *Of the Education of the Poor*, etc., 1809, pp. 48-9.

poet, in considering the Scotch experience, laid emphasis on the extraordinary difficulties lying in the way of a similar reform in England. He saw that a national system "would be comparatively easy" "anywhere but in England."

He surmised that it was an economic question, and that children really went to school in Scotland because it was unprofitable to send them anywhere else. As for his own counties, where manufacture had not much affected the ancient simplicities and sanctions, "we have, thank heaven, free schools, or schools with some endowment, almost everywhere; and almost every one can read."¹ Not, he adds, because the schools are free, but because the dalesman, tilling the fields he owns, has more both of ability and inclination to send his children thither. The economic difficulty suggested by Wordsworth was perfectly sound—it has always stood in the way of popular education in this country. But one feels at once that Wordsworth at Grasmere, although he might see the difficulties shrewdly enough, was very far removed from feeling the full burden of the necessity for some national effort as it was felt by those whose life was passed in the great new manufacturing centres.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the sordid misery of the life of the poor in England at the beginning of the century. "The problem of pauperism came upon men in its most terrible form between 1775 and 1834," wrote Arnold Toynbee. England was stricken by a combination of calamities. The loss of America, the Napoleonic wars, a series of ruinous harvests, and a vicious method of administering the poor laws, served together terribly to undermine the resources of the country.² Whatever the principal cause, no one now will call in question the misery of the poor, their sanitary neglect, demoralisation, acute want, and terrible ignorance,³ at the time of which we are speaking.

¹ Knight's *Life of Wordsworth*, ii. pp. 580-1.

² Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, p. 44.

³ Lecky, *Eighteenth Century*, vol. vi. p. 221.

But by far the worst of all was the condition of the children; it was upon these, as yet unprotected even by public opinion or any effective factory legislation, that the evils of that transition period of social disorder most tragically fell. Not only the evils of vicious example, of dram drinking, the absence of family life, and all those "evil communications that corrupt good manners"; but the evils of ignorance, disease, and excessive hours of labour.

Under these circumstances it was but natural that thoughtful men and women should be everywhere discussing the problem of elementary education. For England was not at this time a callous-hearted and indifferent nation. This was an age of philanthropy, following upon one of religious revival: an age which felt the influences of a quickened religious sense, together with that of the more liberal and humane social outlook of the revolutionary period.¹

A widespread desire was felt that every child should be taught to read the Bible for himself, and this, while general, would appear to have been particularly strong among Dissenters. In 1781, Robert Raikes inaugurated the Sunday school movement which extended so rapidly that twenty-two years later some 800,000 children were numbered in the schools of the union. Here they were taught to read the Bible, and as much else as time, convention, and the talents of the teachers might permit.

There were also in the country perhaps 1000 endowed and 1600 charity schools, into which a certain number of the cleverer or more fortunate children would find their way. It was calculated in 1792² that some 40,000 were annually educated in the latter. The majority of the charity schools were founded by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; and in most of them education seems to have gone no further than

¹ It is difficult to say which of these influences really preponderated in the slow beginnings of our national education.

² By Mrs. Trimmer.

instruction in reading the Bible, with knowledge of the Prayer-book and, perhaps, writing.

The actual purpose of these schools was indeed to impart a certain attitude towards life, and that not the upright independent attitude of a freeman. They were to prepare the poor to appreciate the social conditions which in the existing order they were designed to fill. As Bishop Butler said to the charity children at St. Paul's, the purpose of such institutions "was not in any sort to remove poor children out of the rank in which they were born, but, keeping them in it, to give them the assistance which their circumstances plainly called for, by educating them in the principles of religion as well as of civil life." They were to be constantly reminded of their position by their uniform—lest they might suppose themselves to be such as the scholars of some grammar or public school; though these had been founded in the first instance for precisely such as they, and had been endowed to that end.

Besides such schools as these, and those dependent entirely upon the pay of scholars, there were certain "schools of industry" established in various parts of the country. It was estimated in 1804¹ that while 188,794 children between the ages of five and fourteen, in England and Wales, were in receipt of out-relief, only 20,336 had even the scanty benefit of these schools of industry, in which they were made to be more or less self-supporting by some industrial occupation.

Such scanty and incomplete statements as these may serve to indicate the general condition of public elementary education in this country during the years when Joseph Lancaster was beginning his now famous work in the Borough Road.

The story of that work is the romance of one man's effort spreading out into a great national movement. The romance is heightened by the man's character. He was of the people, with no obvious advantages of birth or intellect, but with

¹ *Education of the Poor*, p. 307, n.

that genius for perceiving the practicable which marks the successful reformer.

Born in one of the poorer districts of South London, and growing up when national poverty was yearly becoming more unbearable, he was specially familiar with the needs of those who, having seen better days, were anxious above all things about the education of their children. They were not yet become so broken or degraded in their poverty as to be indifferent. He felt within him, from early youth, the desire to teach, the calling of the schoolmaster-missionary or evangelical pedagogue. Having attempted his self-imposed task within modest compass and with satisfying results—at least to himself and to the people he served—he found so many others interested in his success, and they of so large influence, that he determined, under their patronage, to extend his efforts.

This extension, which was facilitated by methods suggested about the same time by Dr. Andrew Bell, became in a few years very considerable, but was then endangered by certain defects in his own character. Having inaugurated popular education both by his own efforts and by quickening those of his clerical opponents—for as he punningly said he had put a clapper into their “ Bell ”—he was unable himself to continue it, and the work, begun by him, passed to those who had faithfully co-operated with and supported him. Finally, as we know, it has passed, in large measure, into the hands of the representatives of the people for whom it had been inaugurated, and by whose favour it had so far succeeded.

The man's early history may be briefly told as follows:—

Joseph Lancaster was born November 25, 1778, in Kent (now Tabard) Street, Southwark, where his father Richard augmented his soldier's pension¹ by a small business of cane-sieve making. He was one of a large, poor family, Calvinistic and upright, and grew up with scanty education. He early developed a passion for reading, little calculated to encourage

¹ He had served in America during the revolutionary wars.

him in attention to his father's "mechanical" business; and as, forthwith, he showed a precocious talent for preaching he was marked out for the Dissenting ministry.

Fired by Clarkson's *Essay on the Slave Trade*, he ran away from home to make the journey to Jamaica and teach the blacks to read. At Bristol he volunteered for the navy, and was already establishing a reputation on board his ship as a "parson" when friends obtained his release from the vessel and brought him back. He was now fourteen years of age.

With the ministry still in mind, he seems after this to have found his way to a boarding school, while at sixteen he was apparently an assistant in a day school; not, it may be presumed, with any idea of becoming a schoolmaster himself, but simply in order to continue his own education by eking out such payments as his parents could afford with earnings of his own. What prospects he may have had of a successful career as a Nonconformist preacher it is hard to say; but his subsequent history indicates a considerable talent in that direction. He had something of the powers of the great itinerant evangelists. But professional preaching became a closed career for young Lancaster when he began to come under conviction of the principles of the Society of Friends, a change which probably took place about the same time as his decision to set up school.

At about eighteen or twenty, his account is not very clear, finding the humdrum occupation of a cane-sieve manufacturer little suited to his unsystematic, sanguine, and romantic temperament, and discovering that he had a real talent for teaching, he induced his father to lend him a room in the house, where he might commence to teach a school of his own, charging his scholars such small fees as their parents could afford. The worthy man was his enthusiastic son's first convert. He seems to have believed in Joseph and his dreams, for he would say, perhaps with a sort of pathetic patience, "There is *something* behind the cloud."

It rapidly became clear that Lancaster had found his vocation, not indeed that the school proved profitable—he seems hardly even to have considered that aspect of his enterprise—but that it was almost immediately overcrowded by eager scholars. Unable to afford a paid assistant, the young dominie promptly made use of his more intelligent pupils, and thus a monitorial system grew up out of sheer necessity. This system he perfected with a veritable enthusiasm, until, as he subsequently declared,¹ it “could be instead of wisdom, judgment, and discretion” to his young assistants. Of the system we shall have further occasion to speak; but it was, of course, something much more potent than this mechanical device upon which Lancaster’s success was founded. It was his love of, and devotion to, the lads under his charge, and his passion for imparting to them the spirit, as well as the mere rudiments, of education. Every Sunday evening he would invite a number of the older ones to tea, the lads bringing their own bread-and-butter; the opportunity would close with Bible reading, and was calculated to bring an *esprit de corps* of real fellowship and good understanding into his school. In this way he early began to regard the leaders among the boys as his “family,” a term which he used for many years in this enlarged sense. On half-holidays he would marshal his scholars in order, the monitors acting as captains over their classes, and sally forth to some out-lying village, with games and sports in the fields. Thus he gave himself to his ministry, imparting his own enthusiasm, his own generous ideals to the lads.

The years that closed the century were marked by ever-increasing poverty, and the people of Borough Road were among the sufferers. The number of families who were able to continue even the modest contribution required by Lancaster decreased, while those on his free list were continually increasing.

¹ *Epitome*, 1833.

Nor was this all. He was now to become a pioneer in another field: he began to feel the necessity of providing some sixty scholars, not only with free instruction, but, besides, with meals. He had by this time been long enough among the Quakers to have won the sympathy and confidence of some of their number, and several assisted him with money for this purpose. His benevolent instincts involved him still further in expenses, for we find him taking "one or two orphans" to live with him in the establishment kept simply by his old Welsh housekeeper. But he declares characteristically that he took no thought for the morrow, amply satisfied if he could balance his books every week. Thus it came about that in June 1801 he put up the famous notice over his schoolhouse door:—

"All who will may send their children and have them educated freely (the expenses of writing books excepted), and those to whom the above offer may not prove acceptable may pay for them at a very moderate price."

Under these circumstances, amid the goodwill of his neighbours, and with the co-operation of his family and his friends, it can hardly be wondered that the enterprise of this born teacher grew apace. He seems then to have moved repeatedly into larger premises, always in the vicinity of Borough Road,¹

¹ Lancaster says repeatedly that he opened his school at eighteen (1796), but that the date of the Borough Road enterprise was 1798. This may mean that he removed from his father's house to independent premises in the latter year.

The following is from one of his own narratives:—

"My father gave the schoolroom (a mere shed behind the dwelling) rent free, and after fitting up the forms and desks myself, I had the pleasure, before I was eighteen, of having near ninety children under instruction, many of whom I educated free of expense. As the number of scholars continued to increase, I soon had occasion to rent larger premises." (*Report of Joseph Lancaster's Progress from the year 1798.*) In Mr. Salmon's *Lancaster*, p. 6, Dr. Rendle is quoted as saying that Lancaster's first school was probably in Kent Street; the second in a sort of shed in Newington Causeway opposite Brandon Row; the third (1803) in James Street, Borough Road; while a fourth (? 1804) was in Belvedere Place, "opposite the present site." (*Notes and Queries*, 6th series, iv. 352.) It does not appear that there is sufficient ground for supposing that the school was ever on the Polytechnic site, which was "City land," before 1816.

till in 1804 he acquired a plot of land in Belvedere Place, where he built a school for a thousand pupils.

After attending the meetings of Friends for some three or four years, Lancaster applied for membership in the Society at the end of 1799; he was duly "visited upon his application," but the actual admission into the Society as a member did not take place till January 13, 1801, as the minutes of Horsleydown Monthly Meeting testify.

Already there were evidences in the young man of a certain self-satisfaction with his success, which the wiser among his friends were not slow to perceive with forebodings.

Thus Elizabeth Fry, going to see him at this time—January 1801—made an apposite note in her journal on the difficulty of remaining in a spirit of humility "when we have the apparent admiration of many, and more particularly of those whom we esteem."¹ That he himself was not without some sense of his besetting sin may be seen in the first of his published writings, which appeared in 1803. For toward the close of his *Improvements in Education as it respects the industrious classes of the community, containing a short account of its present state, hints towards its improvement, and a detail of some practical experiments conducive to that end*, he remarked,² "Vanity seems insensibly entwined about our nature, and mingling with our best performances often debases their sterling value."

Lancaster's *Improvements* is worthy of our attention, since it describes his general educational outlook. Commencing by declaring that the education of the poor ought to be a national concern, and would have become so but for a "mere pharisaical sect-making spirit preventing it in every party," he invokes a more catholic spirit. He is not discouraged by the quarrels of the past. "The common ground of humanity is adapted to all," and he will take his stand on that.

"Above all things, education ought not to be made sub-

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 103.

² p. 44.

servient to the propagation of the tenets of any sect, beyond its own number; . . . and yet, a reverence for the sacred name of God and the Scriptures of Truth, a detestation of vice, a love of veracity, a due attention to duties to parents, relations, and to society; carefulness to avoid bad company, civility without flattery, and a peaceable demeanour, may be inculcated in every seminary for youth, without violating the sanctuary of private religious opinion in any mind."

After describing existent schools for the poor, their "disgusting scenes," and wholly inefficient and unsuitable teachers—so indeed that the "drunkenness of a schoolmaster is almost proverbial"—he indicates his remedy.

He decries the mere mention of coercion of any kind, as "the most disgusting, uncouth word in the British vocabulary," and declares that any society which would help the poor must approach them as upon an equal footing, and act upon "general Christian principles, and on them only."

He enumerates the following as the principal evils in existent schools:—bad teachers; their poverty and lack of due social status; parents' uncertainty as to their character; bad accommodation for children; lack of system and stimulus in teaching; want of any standard method.

The objects he sets before his readers are the training of teachers, and their stimulation to greater exertion. He advocates the formation of a friendly society for them; the presentation of medals; establishment of a library of educational works; the supply of materials at cost price, and the publication of information as to school-methods, etc. His idea is to encourage the teacher, but to leave him free; enforcing proper sanitary conditions, regular and punctual attendance, and a measure of discipline. And he imagines that with £1500 a year the whole national work indicated could be set a-going. So inexpensive did the task then appear.

Finally, he describes his own work at Borough Road, its system of small prizes by which thousands were distributed,

and of leather badges bearing numbers whose repeated award was to have a certain definite money value; its monitors, who made their daily, weekly, and monthly reports of progress, receiving also their own special badges and rewards; its spelling lessons with slates, and other novel introductions both in writing and arithmetic, though these are only hinted at. He enumerates among the books in use beside the Bible and New Testament, Turner's *Introduction to the Arts and Sciences*, Mrs. Trimmer's *Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature and Reading the Scriptures*, Martinet's *Catechism of Nature*, and Watts' *Hymns for Children*. He also acknowledges the aid derived from Dr. Bell's pamphlet, and regrets that it had not come earlier under his notice.

This mention of Dr. Bell and of a work by Mrs. Trimmer introduces us to the religious struggle which was so soon to rage about the Lancasterian experiment.

Dr. Bell was a quarter of a century Lancaster's senior. The son of a St. Andrew's barber, he had led a wandering life in Virginia and in India, whence, in 1796, he returned with a small fortune, having succeeded in holding as many as eight army-chaplaincies at one time. The year after his return he published a pamphlet entitled *An Experiment in Education made at the Male [Orphan] Asylum of Madras; suggesting a system by which a school or family may teach itself under the superintendence of the master or parent*.

This was the outcome of several years' experience as superintendent of the said asylum, which had been founded by the East India Company. After the publication of his pamphlet the monitorial system therein expounded was introduced into the Protestant Charity Schools, St. Botolph's, Aldgate (1798), and the Kendal Industrial Schools (1799). In 1801, Dr. Bell settled down to a living at Swanage, and it was only the success of Lancaster's experiments, so closely resembling his own, that drew him presently out of his comfortable seclusion, wherein, about Christmas, 1804, the latter seems to have visited him.

Nor perhaps, even then, would Dr. Bell have been impelled to controversial or constructive activity, had it not been for the determination of that person of great importance in her day, to whom I have had occasion to refer. Mrs. Trimmer was now some sixty years of age, had been for about twenty years an active promoter of Sunday schools, and was the author of a number of works of instruction for children, notably the *Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature* (1782) and works on Scripture history. From 1802-6 she issued a magazine under the title of *The Guardian of Education*.

Though at first she was interested in Lancaster's work, she soon took alarm at its unsectarian character, and still more at its success. She felt that it was a serious trespass on the educational preserves of the Established Church, and forthwith roused up Dr. Bell to reassert himself. And it was high time, for in a few years things had moved rapidly.

Mrs. Trimmer had been suspicious of Lancaster even in 1803, when he was a comparatively obscure young schoolmaster in Southwark; but in the summer of 1805 he became a figure of almost national prominence.

For now, through the interest of a Mr. William Corston, who had recently established a school of industry at Fincham, Norfolk, where the children were being taught to make Leghorn straw-plait under royal patronage, Lancaster received a command to attend upon old King George III. at Weymouth.¹ The king had already been interested in Lancaster's free school, through the accounts he had heard of it from Lord Somerville, one of his Lords of the Bedchamber. Somerville had first visited the school some three years earlier, and had also induced his friend the Duke of Bedford to follow his example. It was to these two generous noblemen that Lancaster dedicated the new edition of his *Improvements* published in this year.

Of Lancaster's visit to "the farmer king," then sixty-seven

¹ The visit of June 1805 was a second interview.

years old, Mr. Corston has preserved the following naïve record:

"On entering the royal presence, the king said, 'Lancaster, I have sent for you to give me an account of your system of education, which, I hear, has met with opposition. One master teach five hundred children at the same time? How do you keep them in order, Lancaster?'

"Lancaster replied, 'Please thy Majesty, by the same principle thy Majesty's army is kept in order—by the word of command.'¹

"His Majesty replied, 'Good, good, it does not require an aged general to give the command—one of younger years can do it.' Lancaster observed that in his schools the teaching branch was performed by youths who acted as young monitors. The king assented and said, 'Good.'

"Lancaster then described his system; and he informed me that they all paid great attention, and were highly delighted; and as soon as he had finished, his Majesty said, 'Lancaster, I highly approve of your system, and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible; I will do anything you wish to promote this object.'

"'Please, thy Majesty,' said Lancaster, 'if the system meets thy Majesty's approbation, I can go through the country and lecture on the system, and have no doubt but in a few months I shall be able to give thy Majesty an account where ten thousand poor children are being educated, and some of my youths instructing them.'

"His Majesty immediately replied, 'Lancaster, I will subscribe £100 annually,' and, addressing the Queen, 'You shall subscribe £50, Charlotte, and the Princesses, £25 each,' and then added, 'Lancaster, you may have the money directly.'

"Lancaster observed, 'Please, thy Majesty, that will be setting thy nobles a good example.' The royal party appeared

¹ It will be remembered that, though he had become a Quaker, Lancaster was a soldier's son.

to smile at this observation; but the Queen observed to his Majesty, 'How cruel it is that enemies should be found who endeavour to hinder his progress in so good a work.' To which the king replied, 'Charlotte, a good man seeks his reward in the world to come.' Joseph then withdrew."¹

Lancaster himself² describes the interview as having lasted for an hour and a half "with the same freedom of speech, the same anxious solicitude to carry his [Joseph Lancaster's] design into execution as on all other (*sic*) occasions. His Majesty, in the fulness of his heart, expressed his readiness to promote the plan 'for an hundred years to come.'"

It is evident from Corston's record that Lancaster's success had already raised enemies against him. And Mrs. Trimmer, in her account of the royal interview, indignantly describes the young Quaker as standing with his hat upon his head making a long oration, while King George "remained condescendingly uncovered or at least holding his hat above his head." The hat-wearing was of course a part of that Quaker ritual with its uncompromising symbolism of human equality, which was still practised in those days, to the mortification of some, and the indignation of others. William Allen often had occasion to experience the former in his visits to great personages, but he still quaintly regarded it as a witness to the pure simplicity of the Gospel. One suspects that this is the kind of arrogance which belongs most of all to the most humble. For it was not Lancaster so much as his Quakerism to which good Mrs. Trimmer took violent objection—"that humbly supercilious sect," she calls the Society of Friends—and she unkindly suspects that he had joined himself thereto either "for the love of a pretty Quaker," or because the broad-brim provided the best of covers for his scheme.³

The first allusion reminds us that just a year before, on June

¹ *Life of Lancaster*, pp. 15-16.

² *The Cambrian*, December 26, 1807.

³ *Life of Bell*, p. 140.

5, 1804, Lancaster had been married at the Quaker Meeting House in Red Cross Street, afterwards known as "the New Park," to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Bonner, corn-chandler of Red Cross Street, and Abigail his wife.¹ He always wrote affectionately of his wife; but after giving birth to a daughter, their only child, she seems to have fallen under a mental cloud, so that, some time about 1805-7, she was removed much against his wishes, but at the instance of his friends, to an asylum. With a few pathetic intervals of partial clearness she seems to have remained under care till the time of her death.

But we must return to the Royal Free School in the Borough Road, now become the centre of a fusilade of letters and articles, both *pro* and *contra*, in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* and elsewhere.

And first, as to the "plan" of which we are to hear so much during the early years of our history, it is time that something explicit should be said. We have spoken of Lancaster's monitors, a term applied specially by him to his young assistants. These were the basis of his plan. There was one in charge of every ten pupils, wearing a leather badge with gilt lettering to denote his office;² while others had general duties assigned to them, such as the ruling of paper, making of quill pens, and distribution of slates and books. Over them all was a monitor-general. These boys had control of the school and gave both instruction, rewards, and punishment, according to the prescribed regulations. Everything was reduced to drill with the object of saving the teacher's time and thought; and every possible economy, except in the matter of prizes, was

¹ Quaker Register of Marriages, Devonshire House, E.C.; and *Friends' Book of Meetings*. In the Quakers' records of the period I find that Thomas Sturge, a worthy shopkeeper of the Walworth Road, and subsequently one of Lancaster's trustees, who had been a very early visitor and supporter of the school, visited him on behalf of the Monthly Meeting on his application for membership, while Anthony Sterry, also an early friend and a subsequent member of the committee of the B.F.S.S., was one of those appointed to inquire into his proposals for marriage (April 10, 1804), and appears to have been present at the ceremony.

² Or the silver medals preserved at Borough Road.

made in order to reduce expenses. Slates were introduced instead of copy-books, and the system of writing with sticks or pointed pieces of wire in sand, was borrowed from Dr. Bell, who had seen it practised in India,¹ and introduced it into his Madras school. Sheets of texts were hung up on the walls to save the cost of reading-books; and six or seven hundred boys might be heard consentaneously singing, "l-e-a-p, *leap*, to jump."²

Lancaster and his Quaker friends were naturally averse to corporal punishment, relying rather on a constant activity affording interest to the children, accentuated by a system of profuse rewards. At Midsummer, 1803, for example, Lancaster spent £26 in prizes for his 217 pupils, or nearly 2s. 6d. per head, when he was at the same time boasting the extreme cheapness of his method.

As these prizes were distributed with befitting pomp and ceremony, so offences were punished with corresponding humiliation. A dirty boy had his face washed by a girl before the school; a truant was tied in a blanket and left so for the night; others were tied up in a sack and hung from a beam in view of all the children, or their legs or arms were shackled, or they were fixed into a wooden yoke, and made to parade the school walking backwards.

One of Lancaster's principal educational discoveries was that of combining the lessons in reading, writing, and spelling, the pupil writing the letters as he pronounced them. The early arithmetic lessons seem less brilliant. Each monitor

¹ An old Borough Road pupil has described the method of the writing lessons introduced by Lancaster, and still in vogue in the 'thirties, as follows:—

"The first class (lowest standard) have a frame or long trough extending along the top of the desk, so that fifty children can write in sand at the same time. A finger or bit of stick marked out the letter or word exhibited in front." (*Sunday at Home*, 1899, p. 189.)

The furniture consisted of plain plank benches, and the floor was thickly sanded, so that it could be used as a sort of blackboard by the monitor.

² The simultaneous recitation of all the scholars was instituted to keep their attention.

was provided with a book of examples in which every step in their solution was so explicitly stated that he had merely to read aloud while his class obeyed the injunctions, under a second monitor's inspection.

It will be seen at once that this was very far from an ideal system of education. It was a cheap and ready method of imparting the rudiments of instruction to the poor. As such it was of very great importance in the days when state-aided education was still almost unthought of.

The following extract from an article in Allen's *Philanthropist* for 1811 gives an interesting picture of the general procedure in the Lancasterian school of the period, and indicates one of the chief lines of appeal adopted by its supporters:—

“One of the peculiar features of this plan is the extraordinary manner in which the talents of boys are drawn forth, and many instances may be given where young lads, acting upon this system, have evinced energies which are rarely to be met with in mature age. In the Royal Free School, at the Borough Road, a little boy of twelve or thirteen years of age often commands the whole school, and that with the same ease to himself, and with equal obedience from the many hundred children of which the school is composed, as a military officer would experience with a body of well-disciplined troops; the firmness, promptness, and decision attendant on military order are interwoven into the school discipline, but without the least severity; a constant activity is maintained, by which the minds of the children are amused; they acquire the more important habit of fixing their attention; their duties are made a pleasure, and their progress in learning is proportionally rapid.

“In Shropshire and Staffordshire in the space of only eight months a boy scarcely seventeen has lately organised schools and instructed schoolmasters for above one thousand children; the affectionate and mild but firm conduct of this amiable lad rendered each school a scene of pleasure and delight, in which his steady application of the system of order proved its utility

and excellence. When he took leave of one school, in order to open another at a different place, it was a most delightful sight to behold the whole school of children lamenting his departure, as they would the loss of their nearest friend. He introduced the system so completely into one school that the children required very little attention to execute the plan, and thereby teach themselves; to a person not an eye-witness it would scarcely seem credible, but it is a fact, that the master, who was a shoe-maker, would sit at the head of the school with his last and leather, and alternately work and overlook the tuition of the school; he had no occasion to exert himself to prevent confusion, for the order of the system was so far introduced into the habits of the children, that they would themselves be the first to correct the smallest disorderly movement; the success of this boy's labour was so great in one instance as to induce a countryman to go to the clergyman of the parish, who was the patron of the school, to complain that his children learned so much and so fast that, as he did not get on at such a rate when he was a child at school, he thought witchcraft alone could produce such an effect upon his children. The worthy clergyman, though scarcely able to refrain from laughter, was obliged to put on a grave countenance, and assure his parishioner that neither magic, incantation, nor witchcraft had anything to do in the business.

“ There are other young men who, before they were eighteen years of age, have organised schools for more than two thousand children; one of them opened a school at Clewer, near Windsor, which was founded by the benevolent Countess of Harcourt. This school was visited by the queen and the princesses, who expressed great approbation, and the queen graciously complimented the lad who had executed his business so perfectly. This youth afterwards trained the schoolmaster and organised the school for three hundred boys at Canterbury; it is kept in the old palace of the archbishop, the scene of many an inquisition in former days on account of the profession of

the Protestant faith. The same young man now presides over a school for about three hundred boys at Dover, which was instituted under the patronage of its patriotic member, John Jackson, Esq."

This contemporary description makes it very evident that Lancaster's schools largely depended for their success upon his genius for organisation or "drill." He might well describe his new education as a "plan" or as "the system." Therein lay its strength and weakness. It was compact of labour-saving devices from the mottoes on the walls—"A place for everything and everything in its place"; "Let every child at every moment have something to do and a motive for doing it"—to the signals of command, the pupils' numbers painted upon the walls, and all the badges and tricks of his monitorial scheme.¹ In an age of invention he had applied an ingenious brain to the schoolmaster's craft, and had produced a piece of labour-saving machinery which accomplished the task for which he intended it, with a good deal of clatter it is true, but to general satisfaction and even astonishment. It is enough to say that the satisfaction soon died away and the astonishment has taken on another colour.

By 1806 the institution was getting seriously into debt; indeed it had been founded upon a quite inadequate public support, in the conviction, which after events justified, that Lancaster's responsibility would be heavier if he refused to go forward in his work than if he were merely prudent and marked time.

The subscription which had begun when Anthony Sterry, Thomas Sturge, and a few others subscribed a guinea per child for the free education of the poorer scholars, had gradually risen, till in 1804 it seems to have stood at £600. But he now required at least £1500 a year.

He says that it was the opening of a school for teachers when

¹ Salmon's *Lancaster*.

he was twenty-five¹ that carried him beyond his income into debt, but I doubt whether he ever really regretted this step. It was indeed an act both of faith and of necessity, if the work of education was to proceed; and with the support of many wealthy and influential men it can hardly be regarded as unwarranted.

But, once in debt, Lancaster rapidly plunged deeper and deeper. His fertile imagination was constantly discovering new directions for profitable enterprise; first it was the Borough Road Girls' School, 1805; then a manufactory for the slates and a printing office for the books used in his schools; then a school at Camberwell; and finally a new and costly experiment, at Maiden Bradley in Somerset—while instead of aiding his funds, nearly all of these became additional sources of expense.

In the *Report of J. Lancaster's Progress from 1798 to 1811*, he says that it was in 1805 he began his debts, erecting buildings which cost £3500 on a subscription of £624; and paying out some £1200 a year for the board and lodging of his young teachers when the Royal Fund to meet this purpose stood at only half that amount. Then Maiden Bradley cost him £1200; and the Camberwell school £400.²

Maiden Bradley occupies a good deal of attention in the pamphlet of 1806, printed by his lads in Borough Road, and dedicated to the king, in which he gives *Outlines of a Plan for Educating 10,000 Poor Children*.

For this purpose he asks for subscriptions of £2000 per year;

¹ In 1803, but Lancaster's dates are always uncertain; he probably means 1804, and elsewhere gives the year as 1805.

² Curiously enough, there is evidence that at the close of 1805 Lancaster, with his wife and child Elizabeth, were living at Melksham in Wiltshire, a Quaker certificate of removal having been made out and forwarded thither in January 1806. The removal seems to have been effected, for a further certificate was issued in August 1807 for their return to Borough Road. (Minutes of Horsleydown Monthly Meeting.) It was probably near the later date that his wife was taken under care.

Perhaps the settlement at Melksham was made as an experiment on account of her health, and with the idea that it would be on Lancaster's route going and coming from Maiden Bradley to London.

with that sum he would be able, he thinks, to extend his monitorial plan to the country villages, adapting it to instruction in agriculture and to teaching trades. He would especially make use of the suggestion of his friend Corston, by introducing the straw-plait there, while he has already brought down Lord Somerville's Portuguese hoe to Bradley.

He describes the village, which was the seat of the Duke of Somerset, one of his patrons, as poor, and a vicious sink of iniquity, while the parish workhouse was only fit for wild beasts. All this, with hearty confidence in the inevitable success of "the plan," he hopes rapidly to set to rights, while training young teachers for country schools, and employing the village children at a profitable form of industry. Alas, for those golden dreams! The further the school advanced the more hopeless became its prospects and the less friendly its noble patron.

To other not unjustifiable causes of expense we must add the less defensible one of personal extravagance. Lancaster liked to do things generously, not to say with ostentation, having an eye to public effect. It was not only that he wished the pupils of his family to celebrate his birthday (1807) with "plumb pudding and roast beef," but that he is said to have kept one or two carriages; posted, instead of going by coach, and sometimes with four horses to his post-chaise, and would carry many of his lads with him in chaises on long pleasure excursions marked by some sumptuous repast.

Added to all this were the heavy legitimate expenses of his journeys. According to Corston's account, and to his own statements, he seems to have already begun his missionary work in the provinces. Whether because of the depression consequent on his wife's illness, driving him to fresh scenes, or as a result of visits to Maiden Bradley, he seems to have lectured at Watchet in Somerset, at Swansea, near Cardiff, and at Bristol, and also to have visited Dublin about the end of 1806.¹

¹ At this time the Duke of Bedford, his first and ever faithful patron,

It was probably upon this journey that he opened a school in Liverpool where a brother was living. On March 19, 1807, he wrote that he was "ill, poor, and penniless," but by no means despondent. In May he travelled down to Dover by the request of John Jackson, then Parliamentary candidate, to start a school there, possibly also visiting Canterbury. It was on his return to London after starting eight new schools that he was arrested for debt.

In the same month Corston received a letter from his friend, written at a sponging house and begging him to bail Lancaster out. Corston, knowing his very large debts, felt unable to do this. So on his departure Lancaster sent for the sheriff's officer to convey him to the Bench. On their way thither, however, he called at his own home to see his wife and child, and there, reading the Bible and offering prayer in presence of the officer, so wrought upon his feelings that, as they were proceeding to the Bench, he, declaring Lancaster was an honest man, himself went security for the debt. During his summer in gaol he was let out by day.

At the beginning of September he seems to have been set once more at liberty, through the intervention of two Quakers, whereupon finding himself, as he says, very ill, he went into the west to recover. It must have been about this time that his wife was taken to an asylum, and this sorrow, added to his experience in prison, may well have been the cause of his illness. Arrived in the west, after visiting his unfortunate experiment at Bradley, he began to lecture on his plan in the Town Halls of Swansea and Carmarthen, and in the Merchant Taylor's Hall at Bristol. Of all this he gives a humorous account in a letter to the king's oculist, to be read to his Majesty. A paragraph will afford an impression of this vein in the enthusiast which could not be repressed even in a letter for the king:—

was viceroy of the island, in whose religious and social condition Lancaster apparently felt the strongest interest. See his *Letter to the Rt. Hon. John Foster on the Best Means of Educating and Employing the Poor in Ireland*.

"I left the house I was at to go to a gentleman's to tea, previous to the lecture. . . . In haste and perturbation I went out without being *shaved*, and without a clean neckcloth. When at tea, I found I had come out and forgot to leave my beard behind me. I requested my friend to let me be shaved, for, knowing I was a Friend or Quaker, I did not wish people to take me for a Jew. The important work of *shavation once accomplished*, tea over, and being furnished with a clean neckcloth, I unthinkingly *put the dirty one in my pocket*, and deliberately walked off to the lecture room. The room was crowded, and the lecture attended with much success; but finding myself annoyed by the heat of speaking, I felt for my pocket-handkerchief to wipe away the effect of such sweating work, and *twice did I take out my dirty neckcloth to wipe my face with*, to my *no small diversion* ever since, and probably of my *auditors*; but the weight of the subject was so great on my mind at the moment, as well as on the minds of my audience, that I believe not a smile was excited amongst us. It was a *solemn subject*, and a *solemn meeting*. . . ." ¹

Returning from Bristol, he went on to Dover, and thence to Canterbury, lecturing in the Guildhall. Here, says he, "we had two assemblies of the people," and it is curious to note his classification, "one of the respectable class and the other of the industrious orders of the community." Thence he proceeded to Woburn Abbey, where he spent his birthday (November 25), and, Lancaster having on an earlier day dined with the Dukes of Bedford and Manchester and lectured in the Market House, the Duke of Bedford now declared his determination of having all the children of the county educated according to the plan. Again he hurried off to Bristol, lecturing to four thousand people in the Methodist meeting house with two chaplains of the Duke of Kent holding the plates at the door. He recalled his visit to the city, fifteen years before, as a penniless lad on his way to Jamaica, and his present different condition: even

¹ Corston, quoted by Salmon.

now, it may be remembered, he was poor enough and only twenty-nine. He also spoke at the Guildhall. Thence he went to speak at Cambridge with Dr. Ramsden, Professor of Divinity, in the chair at the Town Hall; and again at Lynn.

It was in November 1807, when Lancaster was in Dover, on one of several visits to the school which he had there established and which now contained some two hundred boys, that he made the acquaintance of Joseph Fox, a friend of John Jackson's, who was henceforward to take an important share in the school work.

Very little is known of Fox, beyond the fact that he was a well-to-do young surgeon-dentist at Guy's Hospital; and unfortunately some of that little is to be found in Lancaster's *Narrative of Persecution*, a bitterly unjust attack upon his early and best friends. It would seem, however, from all accounts, that Fox was of a highly strung enthusiastic temperament, liable to periods of black depression when his friends feared for his life and reason. His visit to Dover in 1807, when he met Lancaster, would seem to have been consequent upon an attack of this kind. Lancaster says that it followed a personal dissension which had wrecked the Jenner Society; and himself claims to have been the cause of Fox's restoration to social life and happiness. He says that Fox after recovery vowed all his own means to charity, and was not a little jealous that any other person, even the Duke of Bedford, should aid Lancaster by the loan of money. We may understand from this and other straws of information that Fox was a generous, impulsive man, easily wounded and too quick to take offence, rich in devotion and zeal, but lacking prudence and judgment.

The occasion when he first met Lancaster was a lecture of the latter's, given with that extraordinary magnetic power, earnestness, and conviction which characterised all the great efforts of these his best days. Fox was so much impressed that, rising at the close, he declared, "Were I to hold my peace

after what I have now heard and experienced, the stones might cry out against me." He seems to have forthwith accompanied Lancaster on his visit to Canterbury. And then the friends went back together to town.

On their return to London, Lancaster introduced Fox to Corston, and Fox was informed as to the extent of the former's indebtedness. Corston has preserved the following graphic record of their historic interview:—

"This was the first time I saw Mr. Fox, and a memorable occasion it proved. He knew that Joseph was involved, but did not know to what amount. Their meeting together was truly affecting. They embraced each other like children. 'Ah,' thought I, as we ascended the stairs together, 'God has sent you to our assistance.'

"After dinner our first subject was the debt. 'Well, Joseph,' said Mr. Fox, 'what do you owe now? Do you owe a thousand pounds?' He only replied, 'Yes.'

"After a little time he asked, 'Do you owe two thousand pounds?' A significant pause ensued. Joseph again replied, 'Yes.'

"The third time he inquired with increased earnestness, affectionately tapping him on the shoulder, 'Do you owe three thousand pounds?' Joseph burst into tears. 'You must ask William Corston,' said he; 'he knows better what I owe than I do myself.'

"Mr. Fox, then rising from his seat and addressing me solemnly, said, 'Sir, I am come to London to see the devil in his worst shape; tell me what he owes.'

"'Why, sir,' I replied, 'it is nearer four thousand than three.'

"He returned to his chair, and seemed for some time to be absorbed in prayer—not a word passed from either of us.

"Mr. Fox at length rose and addressing me said, 'Sir, I can do it with your assistance.'

"I replied, 'I know, sir, that God has sent you to help us, and all that I can do is at your command.'

"He rejoined, 'I can only at present lay my hand upon two thousand pounds. Will you accept all the bills I draw upon you? and every one shall have twenty shillings in the pound, and interest, if they require it.'

"I replied, 'I will.'

"We then all instantly rose, and embraced each other like children, shedding tears of affection and joy. 'The cause is saved,' exclaimed Mr. Fox. I replied, 'Yes, and a threefold cord is not easily broke.'"¹

Lancaster's letters written at this time to Corston are full of characteristic phrases which must be quoted as indicating the man's nature. For example:—

"I care not where I go, or what I do . . . so the Lord goes with me and makes my way by the might of His invisible power, which sometimes goes through me far more sensibly than the circulation of blood through my veins."²

On December 15 he is going again to lecture at Canterbury, preparations being made by Fox:—"O my dear friend," he writes, "these friends that the Lord raiseth up are stable."

He was not, however, inclined to be ruled by their suggestions. Corston and Fox had plans for redeeming the financial situation, but they were not immediately acceptable to him.

"Tell my friends," he wrote from Dover, on December 10, "what God began, He alone shall finish; and if He does not, I will sooner perish under the wreck of all, than man shall defile His work or make a linsey-woolsey garment of it. . . . God is with me; He has done wonders here."³ A fortnight later he writes from Bristol, "I am a lark mounting up and singing to the light of the morning sun, and I already find the glory of its rays on my head."⁴

There is something singularly attractive in these letters,

¹ Corston, 54-5.

³ *Ibid.* p. 47.

² *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 49.

which he wrote at great length in the intervals of his extraordinary labours and anxieties. In them the very heart of the man shines unreservedly forth, with an innocent charm of boyish eagerness, infinitely winning. They are full of the lyrical quality which belongs to genius, and warm with manly friendship. In his thirtieth year Joseph Lancaster was possessed of one of the most striking and attractive personalities of his time.

But now he had to face difficulties which were to try his manhood, difficulties with which he seemed entirely unfitted to cope. The debts, which had been accumulating for four years and which had already crippled his work and threatened it with extinction, were a load about his neck. How were they to be redeemed?

Corston had a plan—Fox had a plan—and each urged his scheme upon Lancaster. Lancaster hesitated. He thought that he was warned against Corston's in a dream, where it appeared to him as a mere broken bridge out of his difficulties. If only he could have patience, patience and faith, he would find the ford—he would need for nothing, money and wisdom would surely follow; if only he could win more faith. This impression did not quickly pass away from his mind.¹ Though he eventually consented to the plan of his friends he was still, I think, dissatisfied. It was as though he felt the shadow of impending disaster fall across his sensitive spirit.

¹ See letter, May 5, 1809, in Corston.

PART I

THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY

*FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE SOCIETY
TO THE REFORM BILL*

CHAPTER II

1808-12

LANCASTER'S COMMITTEE

Lancaster's Friends—William Allen—Enthusiasm of the Group—Quaker Educational Interest—The Finance Committee—Lancaster's Journeys: 1807-10—To Ireland—Work of the Committee—Finance—Its Extension—Foreign Interests—Difficulties—Aid of Duke of Kent—Founding of "National Society."

WITH the year 1807, part of the burden that lay on Lancaster's shoulders fell from them. His life was still to be shadowed by the domestic tragedy which separated him from his wife, but the responsibility for the large debts he had incurred in his national experiment was now to be taken by others. The friends who had already begun to interest themselves in his work were now to sustain it, forming themselves into a group of guarantors, until the initial difficulties were overcome, and the interest of the nation was thoroughly awakened. In a word, Lancaster's work from this time forward ceased to be the effort of an individual; it had begun to take on the character of a movement. And while it continued to be Lancaster's movement for another five or six years, the freedom and irresponsibility of the individual were of necessity almost immediately curtailed.

An all-important question began now to challenge him; would he who had initiated this work prove capable of co-operating with others for its extension and consolidation? Had he the qualities of a statesman as well as of a missionary—or if he had not, was he still possessed of that saving sense of his own limitations and that faith in the good will of others

which would ensure success in the new situation wherein his past success had placed him?

This question of Lancaster's own character must be answered in the present chapter, which will recount the early history of the group of men, or committee, which was afterwards extended to become known as the "British and Foreign School Society."

The society grew out of the dinner at Corston's house described in the last chapter. About two months later, in an interval between Lancaster's journeyings hither and thither, his mind having apparently been convinced by the pressure of necessity and the persuasion of his friends, a second meeting was held at the same rendezvous, and the three men entered into a covenant together. They form a singular group of enthusiasts, Lancaster the wandering schoolmaster, Corston the modest hat-maker of Ludgate Hill, and Fox the dentist. Each brought his contribution to the meeting, for each had his panacea to offer. Fox brought vaccination, Corston the new straw-plait, Lancaster the monitorial system. The wonder is that they effected anything. But Lancaster's personality quickly controlled the others. The straw-plait and the vaccine disappeared from their programme, and education alone remained. The first minute of the new society runs as follows:—

"London, January 22, 1808. At a meeting held at Mr. William Corston's, No. 30, Ludgate Street.—Present: Messrs. William Corston, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Lancaster.—It was unanimously resolved, 'That, with a humble reliance upon the blessing of Lord God Almighty and with a single eye to His glory, and with a view to benefit the British Empire, the persons present do constitute themselves a society for the purpose of affording education, procuring employment, and, as far as possible, to furnish clothing to the children of the poorer subjects of King George III.; and also to diffuse the providential discovery of the vaccine inoculation, in order that at the same time they may be instrumental in the hands of

Providence to preserve life from loathsome disease, and also, by furnishing objects for the exercise of industry, to render life useful.

“That in order to prevent any impediment to the prosecution of this grand design, the persons present do constitute themselves managers of this society, to plan, prepare, and direct all its future operations; and that no business shall be brought before any meeting of subscribers who may probably come forward in aid of this society but what has been recommended by this committee of managers.”

The minutes record the appointment of Corston as treasurer, and Fox as secretary, while to Lancaster is allotted the “superintendence of education in all schools connected with this society,” as well as the editing of any works issued by it, and the direction of the press established at the Free School. On the other hand, his private affairs were to remain under the care of the committee so long as they were embarrassed. I can well imagine the anxiety with which he viewed that arrangement.

This first night Fox advanced £315 to meet the bills urgently requiring payment.

A week later, a statement of Lancaster's debts was presented, showing an amount of over £5000, “in liquidation of a part of which, bills, at different periods of time, amounting to £2698, 13s. 4d., have been drawn by Mr. J. Fox and accepted by Mr. W. Corston.”

The debt seems large, but it must be remembered that at the end of 1814, after seven years' labour on the part of an able committee, the amount instead of being decreased was almost doubled. It must always be remembered, moreover, that this “debt” was really capital for a large enterprise, raised of necessity by the questionable method of borrowing it from creditors. And it may very safely be added that, if some of the expenditure proved to have been ill-calculated, such for example as the money spent on the Maiden Bradley experi-

ment, that was quite inevitable in work of this character. On the other hand, considering the magnitude of Lancaster's work and its wide extension into many parts of the country both west and north, and the fact that it was commenced without resources by the son of a pensioner with a little shop in the Borough, it may rather perhaps be wondered that the balance against him was not more. Certainly, if he had entertained smaller hopes and expectations, it might well have been smaller. But when he saw the promised land before him, he would have thought shame not to enter in and possess it for the generations to come. The history of the British Society goes far to wipe out any reproach on this score from the name of its founder.

Beside the school of one thousand children, the work had already assumed considerable proportions in the Borough Road, as a further entry on the minutes of the second meeting indicates. The three friends decided to engage a clerk, a schoolmatron, and a manager for the printing office. An allowance of nine guineas a week, and two pounds for washing, was made for the housekeeping expenses of the Borough Road institution. Lancaster was requested to reduce the number of persons living in the house; schoolmasters, servants, printers, etc., were twenty-three in all, with five more at Maiden Bradley. Among the names of the youths in residence are those of Daking Moore (errand boy), Thomas Harrod, John Vevers, and Kenneth MacRae, who all became valued exponents of "the plan" in succeeding years.

As we have noted, the inaugural minute referred to a triple object before the new society, but the plan of vaccination so dear to Fox was never again heard of, while on June 15 Corston's straw-plait was abandoned "at present."

Having thus wisely lightened their vessel, the three friends felt the need of a larger crew before proceeding on their voyage. The two men they chose were both, like Joseph Lancaster, London Quakers—while Fox was a Baptist and Corston a

Moravian. Their names were William Allen of Plough Court, head of the famous firm of manufacturing chemists, subsequently known as Allen & Hanbury, and Joseph Foster of Bromley Hall, who had married one of the Lloyds of Birmingham. These names were added to the committee on July 29 at Allen's house, where for several years they continued, as a rule, to meet.

Of the five men now bound together in his work, Lancaster was the youngest, while Corston and Foster were decidedly older than the rest. Their ages ranged from about thirty to nearly fifty years. Allen and Fox, already associated in scientific work, who now became more and more closely bound together as treasurer and secretary respectively of the society, were both a little older than Lancaster, but born in the same decade (1770-1780), and Allen in its first year. He was a man of wide knowledge and interests, and great singleness of spirit, solid judgment, and the most earnest religious feeling; and besides, of many activities both scientific and philanthropic. Thus, in 1796, he had joined with Joseph Fox, his own partner Luke Howard, and others to found the Askesian Society for scientific study. Towards the close of the same year, soon after his marriage, we find the following entry in his diary:—"12th mo., 28.—When my mind is a little more at liberty, I propose to lay some plan for the amelioration of the state of the poor, and endeavour to form a society for the purpose, particularly in this ward." Two years later he wrote, and it is a fitting motto for all his work: "O let it be the grand business of my life to promote peace on earth and goodwill among men!"

At this time he joined the committee of Bernard's Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. When he was only thirty he refused an offer of membership in the Royal Society. In 1802, he became a lecturer on chemistry at Guy's Hospital, where his friend Fox was a surgeon-dentist, and in the year following he lectured at the Royal Institution. Thus there opened out before him a life of many interests, with the

home at Plough Court and its well-established business there, as a centre of it all. He suffered much from family losses; a sensitive and affectionate man, he survived three dearly loved wives and an only daughter; while constant intercourse with men of religious views very different from his own often occasioned him acute pain. His naturally quick temper was the subject of many heartburnings and poignant self reproof; his relations with personages of influence and position, and with the heads of great states, gave him constant anxiety lest he might be drawn insensibly out of that spirit and practice of simplicity and humility in which he believed his spiritual strength was rooted.

Such was the man who now, at the age of thirty-eight, associated himself with the work of Lancaster, and by his ripper judgment, better balance, and great knowledge of affairs became during the remainder of his life its wisest and most resourceful supporter.

Any consideration of the character of the five men who were thus drawn together into the arduous labour of popular education reveals one striking common characteristic.¹ They were each and all ardent religious enthusiasts. Allen loved to quote the famous saying of C. J. Fox: "Enthusiasm, sir! Why, there never was any good done in the world without enthusiasm," adding: "We must feel warm upon our projects; otherwise, from the discouragements we are sure to meet with here, they will drop through." Lancaster had all the qualities, both better and worse, of the religious enthusiast. He was saturated in the Bible, notably in the prophetic writings, and this often gave a dignity to his language, which in his better hours was laden with the power and authority of spiritual vision and conviction.

Corston, again, was of the same class. He had been deeply impressed as a young man by a vision which came to him on the road as he walked between Deptford and Greenwich.

¹ This at least is true of the four with whose history I am acquainted.



Wm Allen F.R.S.L.

His eyes fell on an inscription: "To the Glory of God and the benefit of poor children this school was erected by Dean Stanhope," and as he gazed he heard the voices of those same poor children joined together in a hymn of praise. "My heart was melted," he wrote afterwards, "and it pleased God to implant within me a fervent wish and desire that I might one day thus honour Him, and through all the vicissitudes of the intervening period my hope was seldom long clouded. I knew not how it was to be accomplished, but being assured that it was a divine impression, my mind was constantly endeavouring to find out a way." A dozen years later he erected an industrial school in his own native village of Fincham, Norfolk, with a similar inscription upon its face.

His story has so close a parallel in that of William Allen that we must here recall the latter's account of his first visit to the school in Borough Road:—

"I can never forget the impression which the scene made upon me. Here I beheld a thousand children collected from the streets, where they were learning nothing but mischief, all reduced to the most perfect order and training, to habits of subordination and usefulness, while learning the great truths of the Gospel from the Bible. The feelings of the spectator while contemplating the results which might take place in this country and the world in general, by the extension of the system thus brought into practice by this meritorious young man, were overpowering, and found vent in tears of joy."

Of Fox, who brought in Allen, and subsequently those other notable persons connected with Guy's Hospital who proved such invaluable allies, I have already had occasion to speak. He, too, was of the very type of the religious enthusiast, and we can readily discover in the pages of Allen's journal what agonies of spirit were suffered by these two good men when they were brought face to face with the sceptical heresies of that other great religious enthusiast of the time, in whose fortunes they were so singularly and fatally implicated,

Robert Owen of New Lanark. The painful relations between Allen and Robert Owen, or between Fox and Francis Place, are important illustrations of some of the difficulties which the movement had to encounter—difficulties due to the temper and attitude of its leaders. Of these five men all may be broadly described as Evangelicals, and only one, Lancaster himself, had any practical knowledge of teaching. We miss among them that political and philosophical radicalism which was among the best elements in the life of the period and a little later became so valuable a factor in that of the society. The movement originated not among men of the world, nor statesmen, nor radicals, but among passionately earnest philanthropists whose spiritual life was so intensely practical that they were able to unite together for what they regarded as religious work without any consciousness of creed or party.

In so far as they were able to live in that pure purpose of benevolence they preserved their catholicity of spirit; but it was almost inevitable that the colour of their religious temperament should make itself seen in their work. The first ardour and impulse of the movement may be described as evangelical rather than as humanitarian, but distinction must not be pressed too far. Perhaps it does not amount to more than this, that it was the evangelical which enlisted the humanitarian element in its support, and not *vice versâ*. Nothing can be clearer than the need for their co-operation in such a work.

And here another point must be observed, for, noting the fact that, in spite of the early and most important aid of Corston and Fox, the movement owed its inception and most of its early support to members of the Society of Friends, it is worth considering the reasons for this.

As is well known, George Fox, in spite of his depreciation of the ordinary college qualifications for the ministry, was a warm friend of education, and as early as 1667 recommended the establishment of schools for boys and girls. Four years later there were fifteen Quaker schools. In 1696 John Bellers'

large and interesting plan for industrial education was broached, and in the following year Friends were officially encouraged to provide free education "for a competent number of the children of poor Friends," and to arrange for the training of teachers. In 1737 the teaching of foreign languages was commended in order to facilitate the spread of the truth in foreign lands. Ackworth Foundling Hospital, having been acquired for a sum of £7000, was opened in 1779 as a boarding school for three hundred children "whose parents are not in affluent circumstances," under an unpaid superintendent. Finally, we may note that, in 1798, the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends declared its fear that "some of our youth are being trained in habits of expense in attire, furniture, and attendance, which are not only inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel, but absorb property which might be better employed in feeding the hungry, and time which might be occupied in visiting and cheering the habitations of human misery."

The year 1798, from which Lancaster dated the commencement of his Borough Road institution, was also marked by another educational event of special interest, for it was in this year that an adult school was commenced in Nottingham, where William Singleton, a member of the Methodist New Connection, opened a Sunday school for Bible reading and instruction in writing and arithmetic, which soon passed under the care of Samuel Fox, a Quaker, and continues to the present time. Although associated with the Sunday school movement initiated by Raikes, this seems to mark the commencement of that adult school movement which a dozen years later made its appearance in other parts of the country, and was afterwards specially associated with the Birmingham schools, at Seven Street.¹

If these considerations are kept in view, they will throw light on some of the work undertaken by the British Society in its

¹ See *History of the Adult School Movement*, Rowntree and Binns.

earlier years; they will partially explain the close relations existing between it and the work of the Bible and missionary societies and of Protestant Evangelical efforts on the continent of Europe. All these movements were particularly dear to the heart of William Allen; and, as we shall see, while Lancaster's influence in the society decreased, that of Allen continually grew larger.

The foregoing facts are hardly sufficient to explain the preponderant part taken by members of the Society of Friends in the earlier stage of Lancaster's work. Himself a convert, he undoubtedly took and awakened special interest. The Quakers of Southwark were probably the first substantial men with whom he came into personal contact. But beside all this, there was something akin to the very genius of the Society in his whole enterprise. It was at once liberal and religious, practicable and philanthropic. It chimed in with their message and harmonised with their practice.

I have already quoted an account of Allen's earliest impression of the work of the new education. On another occasion it was thus described by him, in his evidence before Brougham's Committee in 1816:—

“About the middle of the year 1808 I became first acquainted with the benevolent exertions of my late friend Joseph Fox; previous to that period I had merely paid my annual subscription to the Borough Road School, conducted by Joseph Lancaster, but had never attended particularly to the subject; when informed of the interest taken in the concern by Joseph Fox I inquired more minutely into the nature of the establishment and visited it myself. I saw that it was an institution pregnant with the greatest benefits not only to this country but to the whole world. I saw a system in action capable of affording instruction to poor children at the expense of from five to fifteen shillings per head per annum, according to the magnitude of the school.”

As to its religious aspect, he said: “I was particularly struck

with the liberality upon which the system was conducted, for, while the reading lessons consisted of extracts from the Scriptures in the very words of the authorised version, no peculiar catechism or creed was forced upon the children thus promiscuously collected together, and who must obviously consist of those belonging to persons of different religious persuasions; and I could not but perceive at the same time the immense advantages which would arise to the community by thus educating children of different religious persuasions together, inasmuch as it would tend to lessen those prejudices and animosities which often have been found so mischievous in society.”¹

Lancaster had called at Plough Court on June 24, and from the beginning Allen had a shrewd insight into his character. He saw that the man was possessed of a very great and beneficent idea, that he was honest and his intentions honourable, but that he had grave faults, and that he needed “prudent management.”

Lancaster, on his side, had shown himself restive under the limitations necessarily put upon his movement by his new friends; and Allen had endeavoured to reassure him, declaring that no one wished to interfere with him further than to ensure his success. His friends were co-operating with him because they believed in his work, and wished to assist him in it, certainly not from any desire for publicity, a desire which Lancaster was too much inclined to impute to others. “I believe thou wilt always find us superior to feelings of this kind,” says his friend with gentle insistence, as though he would add, “may we find that the same is true of thee.”

What had actually been already done by Corston and Fox is recorded in the minutes of the society under date July 29.

A statement of Lancaster's affairs had been presented, showing his liabilities to exceed his assets by about £3000;² and a

¹ *Second Report of the Select Committee*, p. 115. Quoted by Salmon, *op. cit.*

² Debts £6449; assets, £3500.

finance committee of five was now appointed, consisting of Allen, Corston, Foster, Fox, and Jackson, the member for Dover.¹ The business of this committee was to raise a sufficient capital for the profitable promotion of Lancaster's enterprises in shares of £100 each, bearing interest at five per cent., and to carry on all the financial side of Lancaster's work until this loan-capital should be repaid. The friends believed that the printing business would be a source of profit, if sufficient capital were forthcoming. Subscriptions began at once to be paid into Kensington's Bank, the first being those of William Allen and the famous anatomist and surgeon at Guy's, Astley Cooper.

Many familiar names follow: Barclay, Baring, Bevan, Birkbeck, Fry, Gurney, Hanbury, Maitland, Reynolds, Sterry, Thornton, and others, the Quaker names perhaps predominating. But this was only natural. The loan represented new efforts put forth by the committee, over and above those of Lancaster in the earlier years. While Fox and Allen undoubtedly brought in a great number of invaluable supporters through their personal influence, it must not be forgotten that Lancaster's own work had already attracted much public interest. In a list of subscribers published in 1805-6 there are over a thousand names, including those of six bishops, with dukes and many lords, ladies, and notable members of Parliament. It was due to Lancaster that the Royal Family and the House of Russell became interested in the work; and with them must be included many others, like the Marquis of Lansdowne and Mr. Whitbread, whose support was only less important. Indeed, it was the success attending his own personal efforts which secured the subscriptions and countenance of men and women of every rank, party, and creed. And this must be remembered without in any wise under-estimating the great personal services rendered by Allen and others.

¹ A week later Thomas Sturge, another old Quaker friend of Lancaster, was added to the committee.

In defining the objects for which they were associated his friends thus refer to Lancaster's personal work:—

“ It appears that the care necessary to the keeping up, perfecting, and diffusing the benefits of Joseph Lancaster's system will for some time require his undivided attention; ” and they add their conviction as to the incalculable benefits “ which the whole civilised world ” is likely to derive from it.

Their own is a humbler task, and they do not shirk even its smallest details. Some of these, in their picturesque variety, must have raised a smile on those kindly and most human faces; as, for example, when they are discussing the best method of providing wardrobes for the mistresses whom Lancaster is training upon their setting out for some post, or are receiving the master's report on requisites for the young men—how “ James, the African, is in want of a hat, and Lewis of a suit of clothes,” when “ he is desired to procure the same and report.” One surmises that Lancaster with his lack of method and headlong ways would have done these things differently.

But these almost absurd details do not of course represent the scope of the society's toil in committee. They only indicate the assiduous self-denial with which these able and busy men had set themselves to the task of keeping down expenses as well as raising money. Economy took other forms. There were local schools, such as those at Arlesey and at Deptford, which remained a tax upon the general funds. They must be handed over to separate committees, and maintained by their own districts. As a matter of general principle it was contrary to the policy which the friends had framed, that any but the central establishment should continue as a charge upon their small resources. The work must be rendered self-supporting in each new centre; Lancaster initiated the movement, they supplied or named a teacher and perhaps made some grant of materials, but after that the locality itself must provide.

Certain loans incurred by Lancaster in earlier days had now to be paid off with their accumulated interest; such as those from Robert Owen,¹ Samuel Rogers² the poet-banker, and Sir George Mackenzie. But while the proper province of Lancaster's friends and trustees was a financial one, they soon found themselves almost insensibly drawn into a general supervision of the work at Borough Road, with its several departments. For he himself was now more and more often absent for long periods and was thus unable to give to it that consecutive personal attention which it required. He was to become no longer simply the teacher of the Free School and trainer of young teachers; without abandoning these tasks, for which he had a special genius, he was now devoting much of his time to propagandist work, and during the next few years he appears more as an organiser and public lecturer than as a teacher. Unquestionably the change was a very dangerous one for Lancaster.

During the frequent absences which this work entailed, his "household" or "family," consisting of over a score of persons engaged in his enterprises, must have fallen into some disorder had not due arrangements been promptly made for its supervision. Mrs. Lancaster was in no condition to undertake this charge; and thus it seemed advisable to the committee to appoint a housekeeper, and to get some suitable ladies occasionally to inspect the establishment, Lancaster intimating "to some of the members of this committee that he has no objection to their female connexions visiting his family and offering their advice as circumstances may appear to require it."³ They also appointed Thomas Harrod master of the school.

Thus with the close of the year we find the friends have taken hold of their task and Lancaster is being liberated for yet more extended labours.

¹ See Minutes, Dec. 15, 1808.

² Rogers had also leased the site of the Borough Road Establishment in Belvedere Place, which was his property.

³ December 26, 1808.

Indeed, the nineteen missionary journeys which he seems to have undertaken during the years 1807-10 were at this juncture the most important part of the society's work. In days when travel was arduous and expensive he covered during these years some seven thousand miles of road, speaking 140 times, and securing the establishment of nearly one hundred new schools for 25,500 children, more than half the number being credited to 1810.

We have seen how he had visited Dover, Bristol, Liverpool, and Ireland in 1806; how he had made another long tour in November and December, 1807; and was again in the west in the early winter of 1808. On January 2, 1809, he set out for Hull, York, Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool, Warrington, Bolton, Stockport, Chester, Cheadle, Hanley, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Worcester, and Bristol.

Lancaster's constitution must have been robust, but he was not without occasional sharp attacks of illness. His friends heard with anxiety that at Bristol he was seriously over-set, his lungs being affected; but under the kind care of a Dr. Fox, who took him into his own house and nursed him there, he was presently restored.

In a letter written during this tour he describes some of the features of his public lectures, which illustrate his resourcefulness in bringing all the advantages of his "invention" before the public.

"I exhibited at Liverpool and Chester a medallion of the king, as the highest badge of honour given to boys in my schools, the sight of which brought from the people bursts of universal acclamation: the inscription round it was, 'The patron of education, and friend of the poor.' I have also taken measures to perfect the pen engine for the use of schools; one of these I always introduce in my lectures, and when the people see that a master may delegate the drudgery of pen-making to his boys, and that a boy may make pens nearly as fast as he can crack nuts, they exhibit marks of approbation.

The living lectures, by having a number of boys exhibited, will, I believe, under the divine blessing, carry all before them.”¹

After a summer in London, where also he was a frequent lecturer, he was in Bath and Newbury early in 1810, and again in August. In October he reported well on the Hitchin school, and passed through Shefford to Newcastle and North Shields. During November and December he was busy lecturing and organising throughout the Midlands from Northampton to Lancaster, Nottingham, Coventry, Birmingham, Derby, Leeds, Sheffield, and Manchester, and then back to Woburn and London, with many loops and second visits by the way.

From Nottingham (November 28, 1810) he describes his success in this remarkable and characteristic passage: “Every word thrilled through my veins like the vital fluid in its course. I felt all I said and everybody else felt it too.”²

Beside organising, lecturing, and contending with clerical opposition which he speaks of bitterly as “persecution,” he was now occupied in collecting “Jerusalem blades” for his “whetstone”—bright lads from various provincial centres, for training at the Royal Free School, in order that they might become masters in their turn.

A Lancasterian “master” was as often as not a mere lad. At Birmingham, for example, in the absence of the head, “a little fellow not fourteen” was governing some four hundred boys; while the master who organised the Dover school was only seventeen, and John Vevers only sixteen when he went to Bradley.

The need for “trained masters” was pressed home on Lancaster at Sheffield where he found “a mere hireling,” a “stupid overgrown cabbage of a thing”; and added in his report with a true Lancasterian touch, “Schoolmasters attached to the plan have a good principle of action, but, when attachment to myself is added, I have a rule of government which between

¹ Salmon, *Ed. Record*, vol. xvi.

² Minutes, Oct. 15, 1810.

centripetal and centrifugal forces will keep them in their proper orbits.”¹ Such a sentence leaves no doubt as to the man's attitude towards his friends and the society. It was his work, in which they were allowed by Providence to assist; the society existed purely as an extension of his own personality. No other idea ever seems to have entered his mind. And this was undoubtedly the tap-root of his weakness; he was not the agent of a great cause, able to co-operate with others. He felt in himself, and only in himself, the jet and fountain-head of the new educational spirit represented by the Royal Lancasterian Institution. He was its inventor and director, its author and finisher; his friends had no other status in his mind than their status as friends of his, and this attitude became of course only more pronounced as he came into personal conflict with critics, opponents, and detractors.

He had met with a good deal of opposition on his journey, and was less pleased than sometimes with its results.

“I think the Midland counties, to which my journey has been confined, very dark, and very few openings, but when the light shines at all in the dark it shines gloriously and [I] hope the day begins to dawn in these dark counties. As to Yorkshire it seems a foreign land and its inhabitants in the bulk living clods of earth.”

The roads also had often been very heavy, as when he wrote of those near Dewsbury:—“... our way, through break-neck roads in the ruts of which our chaise was tossed like a vessel in a storm. The recollection of that day's ride puts me in mind of the ups and downs sometimes used at fairs, only the jerks more violent.”

He was accompanied or preceded, as occasion might dictate, on this journey by young Kenneth MacRae, whom he had chosen as his assistant to superintend the provincial schools.²

Again, in the autumn of 1811, after the passage of events to

¹ Dec. 5, 1810 (Letter).

² Salmon, *Ed. Record*. vol. xvi. p. 822.

which we must refer later, Lancaster, who had definitely entrusted the management and regulation of the Borough Road family as far as expense was concerned to the care of Fox, Corston, and Allen,¹ set forth (October 26) on a long and important journey to Ireland and Scotland.

It seems to have been the last of his great enterprises in connection with the society and ended disastrously.

It was rumoured that he went "in the employment of Pole," the Chief Secretary, brother of the Duke of Wellington; and he certainly received encouragement from the Lord Lieutenant and his lady, the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, who had already opened a school at Chichester, and from the Earl and Countess of Harrington, the latter of whom had long been one of his patrons. The Irish Quakers also, with many others, supported him.

He was in high spirits and the omens were all auspicious. Harrod, the master of Borough Road, had been sent out a short time before and had organised a successful school in Belfast. At Dublin, Lancaster assisted in forming "The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland," afterwards better known as the Kildare Place Society, on December 7, 1811, which engaged the services of John Vevers for its model school. Thence he proceeded to Cork, and thus describes his journeys, writing on February 1, 1812, to William Allen:—

"Since I left Dublin new scenes of labour have opened before [me]. My exertions have really been spirited and incessant. I have travelled near 240 Irish miles, and lectured fourteen times in the course of seventeen days, and am rather more fresh than when I began. During the whole of my time in this country my spirit has been under a great weight. My ground of movement and line of action has been new, peculiar, and tender. Perhaps it has been such, so altogether new and untried, that maybe no man alive could feel for me in it. Others may judge of the effect, but my lot is to drink deep

¹ Minutes, September 6.

and labour hard in laying the foundation stones. The train things are in is such that schools will spring up, and are springing up, in this land like *shamrock*, the native herb of Ireland. On some occasions I have know a double degree of power, both of speech and feeling, attend my movement. . . . The weight of public education settled down on the minds of Friends here. The result of this journey will probably be, from all appearance, that national education will be paramount in Ireland.—But my pen fails; I have no language to express, nor can I convey to my friends, an idea of the deep and fiery mental baptisms I have undergone, nor of the bright and glorious effect of them on the cause I am engaged in. Indeed, my whole soul has been absorbed and introverted in such a manner as to know of nothing else. I dreamed not of this when I left England, but the great work has rested weightily on me here, and my incitement to go forward has been NOW or NEVER. It will delay my intended national work, but it will greatly enhance its value by enriching its contents. It will also open a regular communication for the spread of education in future in this country, which could only be done personally. The system is yet comparatively novel in this land. Few of my publications have come here, and I am now glad of it, as I see there will be some important alterations to make in them. While the Bellites ¹ in England are raising money they can neither create talents, command dedication, or inspire zeal. Our next annual report will be the conquest of a kingdom, while they have been dreaming a dream. I think Cork and its towns will do as Limerick and its towns, and I trust my friends will cheer up in the expectation of seeing me in London with the trophies of victory over ignorance in my hand.”²

From Ireland Lancaster passed over into Scotland about

¹ Dr. Bell's friends had formed the National Society in the preceding October.

² Salmon, *Ed. Rec.* xvi.

the beginning of April, and at Glasgow his old friend, Robert Owen, took the chair at a public dinner given in his honour.¹ In mentioning the great Socialist's name it is only fair to add that Owen was an enthusiast for an education much fuller than that of the Lancasterian system, though he subscribed a thousand pounds towards its funds. He subsequently offered the same sum to the National Society if it would open its schools without distinction of creed, but being unable to assent to this it accepted a smaller sum instead.

Owen's view of education, like all his other views, was an extreme one. At the Glasgow dinner he declared that education, solely and wholly, and neither climate nor inheritance in any degree, was responsible for the differences between men. Men were the creatures of their circumstances, and education was the wise selection of the most beneficial circumstances. As a practicable part of education he vigorously supported Lancaster's efforts in Glasgow, desiring to interest every influential person there in its favour, till every poor child should enjoy its benefits.

From Glasgow, Lancaster proceeded to Edinburgh, and thence to Newcastle and Sunderland. Of his visit to the latter place, he said, in that bombastic style which was becoming only too habitual with him, "the breath of my mouth alone [was] wanting to put up a Bell's school into a Lancasterian one." Thus he returned to London about the beginning of May, to boast of his successes at the annual meeting of the society, to be toasted by the Duke of Sussex, chairman of the anniversary dinner, May 16, to establish a private school of his own in October, and shortly after to sever all connection with his own society.

We may therefore well regard the six months absence in Ireland as the fatal crisis in his affairs.

In the meantime during these years the finance committee at Plough Court had been deeply engaged in the struggle against

¹ Podmore's *Robert Owen*, p. 107; Lloyd Jones, *Life of Owen*, p. 99.

unnecessary and unprofitable expenditure. On July 10, 1809, we find the following entry on the minutes: "It is indispensably necessary to curtail all expenses that can be avoided;" that Maiden Bradley, "a ruinous expense," must be closed and the slate factory got rid of.¹ Efforts were also continued to hand over the Deptford school to a local committee which should meet all future expenses. The close of the year 1809 shows "a balance against the institution as per stock account of £4760." The subscriptions have not quite reached £1000, the donations are £450, while the loan-capital now amounts to some £3500.

Among the items included in expenses is £333 interest; there was a loss upon the Borough Road establishment of £312, and on Maiden Bradley of half that amount. The Deptford school this year had cost the society £87, but was at last paid off. The total amount of money borrowed by the committee amounted to over £8000; for the loan or capital fund previously spoken of was exclusive of moneys advanced by Fox and other members of the finance committee.²

The year 1810 opened with an anonymous donation of five hundred guineas, but before its close the pressure had increased until the friends deemed it necessary greatly to extend the membership of the committee. Henry Brougham, an old friend, was consulted, and at length, on December 14, while Lancaster was still in the Midlands, an influential meeting of his supporters was held at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James's Street, and a large committee appointed to raise the necessary funds, with the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville as presidents, and a finance committee of forty-seven (besides the six trustees and secretary). The names include Lord Ebrington, the Earl of Moira, nine members of Parlia-

¹ John Trott, slate-maker, discharged March 20, 1812.

² See Minute, October 9, 1809, which states that £3500 has been raised on loans. The total indebtedness was now £8162, 2s. od. and included: W. Corston, £446; J. Foster, £402; W. Allen, £505; Jos. Fox, £1987; Samuel Rogers (mortgage on Borough Road), £400; Sir G. Mackenzie, £400; S. Whitbread, £50; J. Jackson, M.P., £400; Thomas Sturge, £70.

ment — Brougham, Whitbread, Wilberforce, Romilly, W. Smith, Francis Horner, W. Adam, Jno. Maitland, Henry Thornton; and besides, T. Fowell Buxton, Thos. Clarkson, Samuel Gurney, James Mill, Samuel Rogers, Luke Howard, Samuel Woods, David and Gurney Barclay, Joseph Fry, and many others. Fox was again appointed secretary.

This marks a great change in organisation. The group of friends which had grown up about the young schoolmaster was now taking more and more of the character of a public society, and Lancaster felt it. He spoke afterwards with unnecessary but perhaps pardonable bitterness of the way in which the trustees—to whose appointment he had agreed for Fox's security when his friend had married and become somewhat more prudent—had held the meeting during his absence and without his knowledge. It would seem that he expressed this feeling on his return, and the society agreed that vacancies in the new committee should be filled on Lancaster's nomination. But to be assisted by half-a-dozen of his intimate friends was a very different thing from having the embarrassing support of an elected body of gentlemen, some of whom presented figures of a national importance far greater than Joseph Lancaster's. He could no longer even pretend to rule affairs as an autocrat. These people would see that he carried out his ideas as they understood them and by methods which they approved. He was no longer his own master.

Yet what else could his friends do? The debt was increasing; the income from subscriptions for 1810 amounted to only £750; the printing office was not yielding the profits they had anticipated—the work was spreading out in every direction, making demands upon them which, like Lancaster, they, too, found it hard to refuse.

It is true they were now rid of the Maiden Bradley school, and donations had risen to nearly £1600. But it can hardly be doubted that they did the right thing when they decided to put the whole work on a broader basis. They were men with

other responsibilities of their own, and they could not continue to bear a burden which only increased with the success of Lancaster's efforts. Moreover, while his personal liberty was affected and his own prestige in peril, the definite public support of men like Brougham, Wilberforce, Romilly, Mill, and Buxton was of great value to the movement. The subsequent founding of the National Society by the supporters of denominational education would probably in any case have necessitated the action a year later. But it was unfortunate that Lancaster's cordial consent was not obtained.

The new development brought with it new support. The tide had really turned, and large donations began to rejoice the heart of the treasurer. The first public meeting, followed a week later, May 17, 1811, by the first anniversary dinner at the Freemason's Tavern when the Duke of Kent presided, produced £1600, while ten of the holders of £100 in the loan-capital converted their holdings into gifts to the society. Thus the year closed with a considerable decrease in the total deficiency.

These somewhat tedious particulars of the financial struggle against ever-increasing expenditure indicate the burden which Fox, Allen, and their fellow workers were carrying during these critical years. We have followed Lancaster in his journeys—and beside these he was often lecturing or interviewing patrons in London, as well as spasmodically superintending the Borough Road institution—but his friends and trustees were also working almost as constantly in many directions.

Allen's journal and the minute books of the society indicate the multiplicity of detail which came under the direct care of the friends, especially of Allen and Fox. They supervised all the affairs of the printing office—for whose superintendence Lancaster was really as little fitted as for "the mechanical business" of his father the sieve-maker—and made the necessary arrangements for publishing text-books and propa-

gandist literature, such as the *Philanthropist*. Meanwhile the growth of Lancaster's "family," by the introduction of foreign lads learning the system for use in every quarter of the globe, added materially to their anxiety. Among those who came from far places during the early years were "Tapahoe" of Otaheite, in the spring of 1809; Isaac Ward, a West Indian negro saved from the prospect of a return to slavery, May 1810; Isaac Tolling, a prisoner of war from Copenhagen, March 1811; two lads, "George" and "Billy," from Sierra Leone, introduced by Zachary Macaulay in the following July;¹ and sixteen Irish lads from the Society of the Benevolent Sons of St. Patrick, at midsummer, 1812. The family was also extended by the addition of the "Jerusalem blades" collected by Lancaster in the provincial journeys, and by some young soldiers sent by the Duke of Kent, and other military patrons, with a view to establishing regimental schools. Thus in February 1811 there were nineteen youths qualifying for schoolmasters; in November, thirty-five; and the number had increased to forty-nine in July 1812.

Beside these positive interests the committee had now the anxiety of organised opposition. At the opening of 1811, the king having then become hopelessly insane, they were alarmed at the lapse in the royal subscription, of which their antagonists made much, and had to be reassured through Lancaster that it was only due to his illness. To make assurance doubly sure the royal dukes manifested the warmest interest in the success of the work, both inspecting the Free School, reviewing the children in a sort of grand parade, presiding over the

¹ As might be imagined in a society which counted Wilberforce and Clarkson among its supporters, special interest was felt in the negroes. Thus on December 3, 1810, the society offered practical help in educational work to the Society for Missions to Africa and the East; and a fortnight later agreed to board and teach, gratis, two African youths of good natural parts. Further interest in the West Indies was aroused by a letter from Jos. Phillips of Antigua received in October 1810, describing schools for some 920 persons founded there by Methodists and Moravians on the Lancasterian model. The society furnished him with two sets of lessons and subsequently sent out a teacher.

public meetings, and subscribing to the funds. When, at the public meeting of 1811, Lancaster mentioned the report that the king had withdrawn his patronage, the Duke of Kent broke in with the declaration that it was baseless, and that "he was assured that so long as Mr. Lancaster persevered in his present course, abstaining from party views and party subjects, his majesty would never withdraw his countenance from him."

The Duke of Kent, who subscribed £100 in November, continued till the time of his death in 1820 to be a warm supporter of the society as subsequent pages will show. The Prince Regent also, who declared that Lancaster was doing more good than any man alive, subscribed handsomely to the funds, doubling his subscription in 1811, and giving two hundred guineas to the building fund, with another hundred towards the reduction of the debt.

But in October a serious event occurred—none other than the founding by Lancaster's opponents of "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." This was the legitimate off-spring of that Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which had founded the charity schools of the eighteenth century, and adhered, as had its parent, to a special view of education. It was supported by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, who has shown himself little disposed to favour [the Lancasterian school in his own city, and by all those who held with Mrs. Trimmer, recently deceased, that Lancaster was the "Goliath of schismatics," whose "plan" was the most formidable of all the usurpers upon the Church's prerogative; or with the Archdeacon of Sarum that it was "a deceitful institution," designed to confound Christianity by encouraging dissension; or with Southey who went so far as to roundly declare in the *Quarterly* ¹ that "the parish priest should be the superintendent of the parish school, and when a race of men

¹ October 1811.

have been educated for the purpose, it would be well if the clerk were always the schoolmaster."

It is true indeed that neither Dr. Bell nor Southey were at first of all desirous of compelling the attendance of the scholars at church, seeking, in the words of the former, rather to draw the children "by cords of love" than to "drag them by chains of iron." But Bell's whole view of education, as declared in the third edition of his *Experiment*, is not very exhilarating:—

"It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write or to cypher. Parents will always be found to educate, at their own expense, children enow to fill the stations which require higher qualifications, and there is a risk of elevating by an indiscriminate education the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot."

No one may deny the service done to the cause of elementary education by the denominationalists, whether Anglican, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, or Independent, but it would be doing them an injustice to pretend that their view of education was the same as that of the British Society. I have endeavoured to suggest that the latter was based upon a belief that the pure law of Christ's gospel is a law of liberty, and that education, the great liberator of all souls in prison, is so intimately associated with that gospel that it cannot be separated from Bible teaching; and that, moreover, such teaching ought to be so catholic and so practical in its character as to rise free from sectarian bias. Denominationalists, as I understand, hold the contrary. They too demand the religious basis, but they deny any spiritual value to the teaching I have spoken of. For them this kind of catholicism has no attraction, because it seems to lack the dynamic of conviction; they feel that the religious basis it professes to offer is necessarily hollow and unreal. Therefore the National Society for Educating the Poor

in the Principles of the Church was founded¹ for the direct purpose of maintaining as far as possible the clerical control of education and bringing children at once into the traditional atmosphere of the Established Church.

At the same time it ought to be made clear that much of the most hearty and substantial support received both by Lancaster and by the British School Society came from distinguished members of the English Church, who realised, with old King George, that, Dissenter though he was, he cared intensely both for the pure religion of the Gospels and for the education of the poor. Opposition did not come from Churchmen as such, but from a certain party in the English Church; and, on the whole, it now took the form of a healthy emulation in the founding and equipping of schools, a work in which both laity and clergy exhibited great interest and the latter especially a large meed of self-sacrificing devotion.

¹ October 1811.

CHAPTER III

1812-14

THE LOSS OF LANCASTER

Lancaster opens a Private School—Settlement of Relations with the Institution—Intervention of Duke of Kent—Lancaster's Bankruptcy—Quakers disown him—Is appointed Superintendent—Change of Society's Title—Final Separation from Joseph Lancaster—His subsequent Career—And Death.

Notes: List of Committee, 1814—Rules of Society.

WITH the formation of the enlarged committee at the end of 1810, the subsequent founding of the rival society, and the prolonged absence of Lancaster in Ireland, a great change came over the Lancasterian movement. Almost insensibly it was passing out of the hands of its founder into those of Fox and Allen. Almost insensibly the shadow which had crossed Lancaster's mind even when Corston first made his proposals was deepening and darkening over him. He became more and more unreasonable, suspicious, and jealous in his relations with his old friends; and they grew increasingly aware of those limitations of character which from the first Allen had recognised. All these difficulties were only accentuated by absence, and had risen into an almost impassable barrier by the spring of 1812. That summer they began definitely to separate Lancaster from his friends.

The founding of the National Society had occurred just before Lancaster's journey to Ireland. Upon his return in March 1812, he gave an account of his travels at the annual meeting at the Freemason's Tavern, in which, as Allen noted in his diary, "there was too much bombast, but it was nevertheless an impressive account, and he made some remarkably good hits." Already, a year before, he had recorded "Some

conflicts with J. L.," and divergence of views steadily increased.

But on the whole the meeting passed off well. The report enumerated many new schools, both at home and abroad, and noted the movement to establish schools for girls. It was resolved that Joseph Lancaster's efforts had entitled him to the thanks of the whole Christian world; and it was anticipated, in spite of the rival society, that the British system would soon become that of the nation.

However, in July Lancaster took a house at Tooting, without even consulting his trustees, engaged a clever assistant, and proposed to accept fifty boarders at forty guineas a year, half the amount payable in advance.¹

Fox and Allen were naturally taken by surprise, but in discussing the whole matter with Lancaster he explained that he wished it to be regarded as entirely separate from his public work, and that he had entered upon it to provide for his own family. He handed over the whole of the public work to the committee, and on October 2, 1812, a resolution was adopted by them discharging him from all claims for the work recorded on their minutes provided he should hand over to them all the property at Borough Road. At the same time they determined to refuse payment of any bills for goods which had not been ordered by them, and to stop all running accounts. After much debate and discussion a deed of assignment was duly executed on December 7, by which the property passed into the hands of the trustees as security for the loans raised by them.² As the finance committee declared in their report for this year:—

"It is well known that this institution had its origin in the

¹ Allen's *Life*, vol. i. p. 145.

² This was not a new act of hostility, as Lancaster seems to have considered. It had been urged on him by his friends for the last three years, as a mere act of justice. On October 9, 1809, "it is judged proper that J. L. should execute a bond for the full amount thereof [*i.e.* of the loan of £3500] conjointly to the several members of the committee" (Minutes). This was not for the benefit of Fox, Allen, Foster, and Corston, but to safeguard the subscribers of loan-capital.

individual exertions of Mr. Joseph Lancaster, a man whose history will be read with no less delight than surprise by after generations, when it will be considered that but for such a man, possessing dauntless intrepidity and persevering zeal, the clouds of darkness had still involved the minds of a great part of the human race."

Having advanced him nearly £6000 the trustees "considered it their duty to anticipate the public gratitude by exonerating him from all personal responsibility on account of these advances.

"An instrument has been executed whereby, on the part of the trustees, Mr. Lancaster is fully discharged from all personal responsibility on account of their advances to him; and on the part of Mr. Lancaster, the premises at the Borough Road have been assigned to the trustees. At the same time Mr. Lancaster has engaged to continue his exertions for preserving a perfect example of his system of education in the Royal Free School, and likewise in the superintendence of that important part of the institution, the seminary for the training of schoolmasters."¹

However much we may blame Lancaster for his folly in breaking with friends such as those with whom he had worked for the last five years, we cannot but feel the pathos of his position in the spring of 1813. The Tooting experiment, begun without adequate capital, was foredoomed to disaster; and his wife's illness, after long miserable years of separation from him with short intervals of hope and re-union, had now become hopeless.² Yet he was still a comparatively young man, and in the full maturity of his thirty-five years he ought to have been but at the beginning of his career. The age is a critical one, and Lancaster had taken the wrong turning.

On April 10, Allen, Corston, Jackson, and Lancaster dined

¹ p. 19-21.

² We find an entry, March 6, 1813, of £21, 18s. od. paid for Lancaster "on account of his wife."

together at Fox's house in Argyle Street, and "settled many things." Among others they must have discussed the terms upon which the committee should pay for the board of student-teachers at Tooting, for which Lancaster had sent them in an account.

On June 12, the committee held an important meeting. There had been much trouble in Canterbury about the Royal Free School there, and they now asked their friend and patron the Duke of Kent to act as an intermediary between them and the hostile archbishop. Then turning to Lancaster's affairs, which were already becoming sadly involved, they considered his bill for £163, 16s. board for half a year of thirteen lads, and resolved that he be requested to send in any claim "he may think he has on the same account to the end of this month, with a notice that after that time this committee cannot feel justified in continuing to pay for the board of lads at Tooting."

On July 9 it is reported to the committee that Lancaster has sent to Borough Road for three of his apprentices and another lad and removed them into his own charge; and again, a week later, that he has taken other five. The society now took its printing from Lancaster, who had also removed the press, as they could no longer place any dependence upon it.

Matters had come to the crisis. The Duke of Kent had intervened, and, probably at the suggestion of Allen, had sent for him to Kensington Palace on the 17th. Allen had described the situation to him, and he had promised to help the committee if they would go forward. A week later, Fox and Allen again had an interview with the duke, the Duke of Sussex being also present.

On July 28, at the meeting of the committee, "Joseph Fox and William Allen reported that by desire of the Dukes of Kent and Sussex they met them and the Duke of Bedford at Kensington, and had much conversation with them on the subject of the new plan and the untoward conduct of Joseph Lancaster, when the royal dukes wished that the Duke of Bedford

would apply to Samuel Whitbread, M.P., for his assistance in making the necessary arrangements to place the concern upon a more independent footing; they also report that on the 27th inst. S. Whitbread met J. Fox at his house in Argyle Street, together with J. Jackson, William Corston, and W. Allen, when a full discussion took place, and S. Whitbread undertook to write to the royal dukes to fix a time for the final settlement.”¹

The introduction of Samuel Whitbread, the famous brewer and member for Bedford, who was an old friend of Lancaster’s, was most kindly intended by the Duke of Bedford, always himself Lancaster’s friend. Whitbread had at this time a great position as an ardent advocate of national education, but he appears here simply as the friend of Lancaster and the duke, anxious to use his influence with the former as well as with the members of the committee in order that the invaluable services of the founder of the system might still be retained by those who were engaged in giving it publicity.

On August 9 another new figure appears on the scenes, Dr. Joseph Hume, late member for Weymouth, and afterwards a leader of the Radicals. He had long been interested in the schools, and the dukes now prevailed upon him to take a more active part in the society’s work. With him also come others into prominence, notably Francis Place, the freethinking tailor of Charing Cross, who had been for the last nine years a subscriber to the Borough Road school, and had recently sent one of his sons to Salvador House, Tooting, to be trained under Lancaster.

On the 13th these all met together with the trustees, except Jackson, at Kensington Palace. I give Allen’s account of the proceedings:—

“The Dukes of Kent and Sussex presided. The Duke of Kent opened the business in a masterly manner, stating that his friend Hume having, with great labour, investigated the whole matter, had digested the subjects in regular order, in the form

¹ Minutes.

of a report, which he proposed should be read. This was accordingly done. It was drawn up with great candour and ability, and we had little to remark in reference to it. Lancaster behaved very imprudently, to say the least. In conclusion the Duke of Kent told him, in substance, that they had agreed upon certain points, which they were determined to maintain, that they would give him time to consider of them coolly, that he might still be the prominent feature in the business, but that if he persisted in the conduct he had lately pursued they were determined to maintain the cause without him. The patience and condescension of the royal dukes on this occasion were very striking."

The principal point that was pressed on Lancaster's attention was the necessity for his confining himself either to his private school at Tooting or to the public work of the Royal Lancasterian Institute. His actions were bewildering all the supporters of the cause. In his embarrassed circumstances he had been applying for funds for his own use to all his friends, royal and other, to the confusion of the public.

The situation was difficult. Lancaster hesitated; but the knot was soon cut, for within a month his position became impossible, and his creditors met to discuss debts amounting to £7000. They could not agree to the deed of trust for the division of his effects, suggested by Hume, Place, and the society's solicitor, and it became clear that he must shortly be declared a bankrupt.

Painful confusion and bitter disputes continued to arise from the almost inseparable relationship in which Lancaster the man had stood to the institution. It was to him that many of the most important supporters had paid their subscriptions; while the lads training for teachers had been personally apprenticed to him. Hence the difficulties surrounding the training department were particularly acute. Lancaster had himself chosen many of the lads, and they were doubtless strongly attached to that powerful and stimulating

personality. In his adversity and bitterness he was not disposed to bate any advantage which this relationship gave him. He had removed nearly all the lads to Tooting, leaving at Borough Road only twelve sent on special terms by the Irish Society of St. Patrick, four Africans, and two others. Naturally his influence became exceedingly unsettling and discouraging, and at length the committee had to prohibit all intercourse between the two houses as calculated to render order and discipline impracticable. Indeed the Duke of Kent threatened if the disorder continued to have recourse to a magistrate.

On October 30 an important meeting was held at Kensington Palace from which Lancaster absented himself, saying he was prevented by "the pressure of other engagements." At this the constitution and by-laws of the society, which had apparently been drawn up by Place,¹ were passed, for submission to the subscribers; they included arrangements for the work of inspectors, auditors, secretary, and superintendent. This last post was offered to Lancaster at a salary not exceeding £400 a year, and was eventually accepted by him at the rate of £1 per diem.

At the meeting of subscribers held on November 10, the gradual development of the work at Borough Road was reviewed, as it had passed from that of a private school to an experiment of a public character. The plan of the new education is spoken of in the report as "the British system," and indeed for some years the form of bequest issued with the reports had described the society as "The Society for Promoting the Royal British or Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor."

This designation is further fixed in the new rules, which first define the designation as "The Institution for Promoting the British System for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of every Religious Persuasion."

¹ Wallas, *Life of Place*, p. 95.

This was amended and extended six months later¹ by adding, "and that for the purpose of making manifest the extent of its objects the title of the society shall be 'The British and Foreign School Society.'" That marks the final abandonment of the Lancasterian name, with which, and the undue emphasis it laid upon a single striking personality unfitted for national eminence, harm as well as good had been wrought. As the Free School in the Borough Road, the Royal Free School, Joseph Lancaster's Committee, and the Society for Promoting the British System of Education we feel the work is doing well; but there is something too pompous in the other title,² properly applied to the training institution, and one is glad to see it abandoned. Lancaster himself had become very jealous for it; he had deeply resented the decision of the Dublin Kildare Place Society against adopting his name, and was naturally enough much incensed by the action of the London committee in dropping it. He felt that he had been slowly and systematically ousted from his own place; that his trustees had "literally *choused* him out" of it, as he wrote³ a little later, and reduced him to the alternatives of absolute indigence or employment under their committee as a paid and restricted servant. The situation seemed impossible to a man who had of late been greedily feeding his pride upon praise and flattery, and was now soured and saddened by misfortune. He was superintendent for rather more than four months; and on April 16, 1814, he finally, in a petulant letter, severed all connection with the society he had created, and declared his intention of forming a rival establishment.⁴ Had he not done so the relationship must have been severed by the society on grounds of moral delinquency. This fact suggests the strain under which he had recently lived. His name was shortly

¹ May 21, 1814, when the Treaty of Paris and European Peace was in the minds of all.

² The Royal Lancasterian Institution.

³ See note on page 69.

⁴ See Wallas, *Life of Place*, p. 107. Brit. Museum, Place MSS. 27,823 (29-31) (36-40).

afterwards removed from the list of members of the Society of Friends as a consequence of his financial failure and the issuing of the commission of bankruptcy against him.

On April 12, 1814, a minute of the Horsleydown Monthly Meeting records that duly appointed delegates had endeavoured to convince him of the great impropriety of his conduct by indulging in a course of extravagant expenditure, and contracting debts which he was not able to pay. In his reply he pointed out to them the frequent urgency of his business as a reason for his expensive mode of travelling; he also said that he had expectation that a large sum of money would have been raised for his use, of which he was disappointed, and mentioned other circumstances that had induced him to contract some of his debts; but concluded by declaring that he was sorry for his misconduct and that he did not wish any of those things to be considered as palliatives. He alleged that in the prosecution of his extensive plan of education he had been exposed to a great variety of company; that the patronage, applause, and flattery which he had received had at times led him from a due attention to the pointings of Truth in his own mind; and that the path he had to tread was one of unusual exposure and difficulty.

The disownment took place June 14, 1814, in Lancaster's thirty-sixth year.

But while he himself thus ceased to be a member of the Society, though remaining attached to it and to its observances in spirit, his wife and daughter remained and enjoyed something of the benevolent care which it exercises over its members in misfortune. Thus we find that a Liverpool Quaker is corresponding with Thomas Sturge about their condition in the summer of 1815; that Lancaster neglects to answer a letter addressed to him respecting the care of his wife in September; but that Anthony Sterry and others are appointed to take care of her, and if possible have her placed in the Quaker Asylum at York. Again, in January 1816, the

Horsleydown Friends defray a bill for £33, 1s. 5d. sent on to them from Liverpool "for sundries expended for Elizabeth Lancaster."

The situation of the British Society in the spring of 1814 was an exceedingly painful and difficult one. The loss of Lancaster might well mean the loss of confidence in the country as well as of the royal countenance and support. The Duke of Kent was again consulted. He had already fully realised Lancaster's infatuation, and was entirely at one with the committee. The meeting held on May 21, at which "the report of the British and Foreign School Society (late the Lancasterian Institution)" was read, was a successful but melancholy one. It was attended by the Princess of Wales, the Prince Regent being described as patron. As one on whom Lancaster considered he had special personal claim, the society had been most anxious to secure the prince's continued support. They had been naturally disappointed when in March he had refused his "special protection"; and a few months later they had a very painful correspondence with regard to his subscription which had been paid by mistake to Lancaster and was now, for some considerable time at least, retained by him in spite of protests. Indeed Lancaster could hardly be brought to understand that he himself had severed his connection with his own great work.

The committee had a difficult task to perform in announcing that separation to the public; perhaps they did the poor man bare justice in declaring that "for a long time past" they "had derived little or no assistance from him." Yet for two and a half years, from the autumn of 1811 onward, he had certainly contributed comparatively little, while, in the words of the report: "The training of schoolmasters, the organising of schools, and the furnishing of school requisites have been carried on during his long absences from London and his miscellaneous avocations when in it with equal success as if he had himself been present.

“The loss of Joseph Lancaster can, therefore, be only deplored as far as it regards himself. The cause of general education is saved, and as far as the institution possesses the means of advancing that important object, it will now be able to proceed without obstruction.”

In speaking to the report, Mr. Whitbread further explained the situation. He had been one of Lancaster's chosen friends, and had listened patiently while the earlier comrades had been denounced one after another, and had been abandoned; now he himself had shared the same fate. Even as the paid servant of the society, Lancaster had belittled it, had spread unjust reports as to its treatment of himself, and cast contumely on its agents. Yet, though he had lately brought discredit on his own name, that name was “indelibly engraved upon the system, and would be handed down to posterity together with it, when the errors of him who bore it had long been forgotten.

“When it was discovered that the system he had reared had increased beyond his power of management, that he had grown giddy with his exaltation, and incapable of the prudent administration of the most important concern, it was justly asserted that the plan was now the property of the public and not the freehold of the man. . . .

“They must not suffer the man who had reared so noble a temple to destroy it. No; they must support and adorn it, and gather under its simple and magnificent dome the nations of the earth.”

Before pursuing the work of the society, we must here add a few words as to its founder's subsequent history. Dissuaded from a scheme of establishing his system in Sweden, he travelled about England, Ireland, and Scotland for two years, establishing schools and nursing his resentment.¹ He was very poor,

¹ The following extract from his *Narrative of Oppression and Persecution* will serve to indicate the misguided, pathetic condition of his mind in 1816:—

“Two years of privation and persecution have been calmly and patiently borne from men who have injured my father, wife, and child.

having even at one time to pawn his Bible; and he could find little comfort in his own heart. He had first attempted to wreck the school at Borough Road by issuing notices that it would be closed. Then he published abusive bills and pamphlets especially directed against Fox and Allen whose "hypocritical" friendship he conceived had grievously injured him and his work. He was offered a post in Caracas (Venezuela), but refused, suspecting it was an attempt to exile him to a fatal climate. But at length, when he was forty years of age, some of Lancaster's friends instituted a subscription to enable him to go to America; to this Allen and Foster subscribed handsomely. Arrived in New York, he was welcomed by the mayor and governor; and in January 1819, "the Friend of Learning and Man" was admitted by resolution of the House of Representatives to a seat within the Hall. He opened schools in Philadelphia and Baltimore, settling for some years in the latter city, until in 1825 he went upon renewed invitation of President Bolivar, to Caracas, where he married a Philadelphia widow-lady. Two years later he quarrelled with Bolivar, left the country, and, passing through America, worked for a time with some success in Canada.

His spirit was becoming softened. Sitting in silence seeking for the highest wisdom he sometimes found "the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the everlasting hills resting indeed on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him who was separated from his brethren by distance, by faults, by circumstances, and by the just but iron hand of discipline. I longed, again and again," he wrote, "to come more and more under the purifying power of the

My late trustees blended some amiable qualities: they would advance money for the service of the cause. So had I, and now have greatly suffered for they have broken their compact, and literally choused me out of a local institution which I had reared from its foundation until it proved a blessing to thousands. They sought to alter the name of the system, calling it the British and Foreign System (as if Britons and foreigners had combined in its invention), an unmeaning term, in lieu of its generic title, The Royal Lancasterian."

truth which had been the dew of my youth, and the hope of all my life in its best moments, whether of sorrow or of joy.”¹

In 1832 he issued an appeal for funds to which English friends, including the Duke of Bedford and Joseph Foster, responded to the extent of £400. Corston and Allen seem to have still further contributed to his assistance, so that he came into possession of an annuity, and in 1838 he had hopes of renewing his old friendship with them. But he died in New York on October 23, having been run over in the street. He was then nearly sixty years of age.

The following is the burden of his last letter to one of his first friends, William Corston, written from New York on September 21, a month before the fatal accident; it gives a charming picture of a notable public character, still continuing in the work he loved:—

“My beloved friend, I am on my apostolic mission to the dear children of this great city. I have already visited above sixty schools, and before I have done in the island of Manhattan, on which the city of New York stands, I shall have visited a hundred and fifty. Teachers, monitors, and children, when they see me the second time, all seem to shout and sing, ‘Here comes our father.’ But I love their attention to their several duties, their mental improvement, and their duty to their God and Saviour. Whenever I steal their hearts, which, indeed, is very often (for I have souls for my hire), I carry them to their proper Owner, that He may fix the seal of Heaven upon them, and take them into His best keeping. I know of nothing good in visiting schools and lecturing among children unless I can carry them to the Throne, and leave them there.

“I have no doubt that I shall be, ere long, in England; indeed I did not know but that I should have sailed in the *Great Western* on the 8th of next month; but it seems that the Will of our Heavenly Father is that I should be detained here a little longer, because He has His work for me to do—His little

¹ Corston.

lambs whom He wills me to feed—and to that Will I bow; but I believe it is not for long, though I cannot fix the time for one month or two. This my dear sister and thyself may be assured of, that I shall not delay to come to you an hour after my work is done. My wife cheerfully gives me up to come; and I have friends who will make the way easy. Nothing, however, shall hinder the Lord's work, in the Lord's time. It will be three or four weeks before I have done here. I am kindly welcomed and liberally treated by all my friends. The whole American public are with me. I am about to take fifty boys who know nothing, not even their letters, and teach them to read in from one week to a month. I shall have public attestations of their ignorance, and I shall have demonstrative proof of their actual improvement. With properly trained teachers and monitors I should not scruple to undertake to teach ten thousand pupils in different schools, not knowing their letters, all to read fluently in three weeks to three months—idiots, absentees, and truants only excepted. . . . I am much obliged by thy calling on my dear sister. Be so kind as to call again, with my love, and tell her that I believe you both will see me in London; and that her faithfulness unto death will be rewarded with a crown of life. . . .”¹

In concluding this chapter I may quote part of a long letter to the secretary of the society from its president, the Duke of Bedford, written from Portugal in the summer of 1814, with reference to Joseph Lancaster. The duke had early become a member of the Society of the Friends of the People, and from the end of 1802—the year in which he succeeded to the title—to the close of his life in 1839 he remained consistently attached to the work, bequeathing that interest to his successors. Indeed it is safe to say that the movement initiated by Lancaster and continued by his friends has had no more powerful and devoted supporters than the Russells, and it certainly never had sounder advice, nor advice more consistently

¹ Corston.

followed, than that of this the sixth Duke of Bedford, when he bade Lancaster keep clear of the spirit of party, whether religious or political.

The following is the passage from his letter of 1814:—

“Whatever may have been his [Lancaster’s] subsequent behaviour, I cannot forget that it was to his zeal, energy, and perseverance we are indebted for the success of the benevolent and beneficial system of educating the children of the poorer classes of the community. To him we owe the vast extension of this system, and to his energies may also be ascribed the establishment of the *exclusive* system of Dr. Bell, which has embraced the education of a great mass of the population of England. These are his merits, and they are of no common stamp; whatever may be his errors, let them be blotted out from our recollection, provided they are not injurious to the welfare of the society.”

NOTE TO CHAPTER III

The list of the Society’s Committee and Officers for 1814 is of sufficient importance to be here quoted in full:—

Patron: The Prince Regent.

Vice-patrons: The Dukes of Kent and Sussex.

President: The Duke of Bedford.

Vice-Presidents:—Marquis of Lansdowne, Marquis of Tavistock; Earls Darnley, Moira, Rosslyn, Fingall; Lords Byron, Carrington, Clifford, Eardley; Sir J. Swinburne, Sir S. Romilly, M.P., W. Adam, Esq., and the following Members of Parliament: H. Grattan, F. Horner, J. Jackson, J. Smith, W. Smith, S. Whitbread.

The following were members of the Committee:—David Barclay, Charles Barclay, Hy. Brougham, Samuel Bevington, T. F. Buxton, Hon. Robt. Clifford, Rev. Dr. Collyer, Wm. Corston, C. S. Dudley, John Evans, Samuel Favell, Jos. Foster, Rev. Alex. Fletcher, Thos. Flight, John Fell, Sen.,

B. C. Griffenhoofe, Halsey Janson, Rev. John Jones, Rev. Thomas Jones, A.M., Rev. Dr. Lindsay, Jas. Mill, Sir Jas. Mackintosh, M.P., John Martineau, J. H. Marten, Henry Newman, F. Place, Wm. Prater, David Ricardo, Robt. Slade, John Sanderson, Jun., Jas. Skirrow, Knight Spencer, Thos. Sturge, Rev. S. W. Tracey, Jos. Fitzwilliam Vandercrom, Samuel Woods, Rev. Mark Wilks, Thos. Wilson.

The following are "the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Institution," as adopted in 1814, and amended, November 19, 1817, with subsequent additions:—

I. This Institution shall be designated "The Institution for Promoting the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of every Religious Persuasion"; and, for the purpose of making manifest the extent of its objects, the title of the Society shall be "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY."

II. This Institution shall consist of a Patron, Vice-Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, Life and Annual Members; together with such officers as may be deemed necessary for conducting the affairs of the Institution.

III. The Institution shall maintain a School on an extensive scale to educate children. It shall support and train up young persons of both sexes for supplying properly instructed Teachers to the inhabitants of such places in the British dominions, at home and abroad, as shall be desirous of establishing schools on the British system. It shall instruct all persons, whether natives or foreigners, who may be sent from time to time, for the purpose of being qualified as Teachers in this or any other country.

* * The School shall be open to the public, for the purpose of exhibiting the system of teaching and training, every day, from nine to twelve o'clock, and from three to five, Saturdays excepted.

IV. All schools which shall be supplied with Teachers at the expense of this Institution shall be open to the children of parents of all religious denominations. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Needlework shall be taught; the lessons for reading shall consist of extracts from the Holy Scriptures;

no catechism or peculiar religious tenets shall be taught in the schools, but every child shall be enjoined to attend regularly the place of worship to which its parents belong.

* * The grand object of the Institution being to promote Education in general, any application for the training of a Teacher, at the expense of the person thus applying, will be attended to, although such intended School is not to be conducted on the extended principles of this Institution.

V. Every person subscribing annually one guinea and upwards shall be deemed a member of this Institution during the continuance of such subscription.

VI. Every person subscribing ten guineas and upwards shall be a member for life; and upon any legacy being paid to the Treasurer, the Executors who have administered shall be members for life, calculating at the rate of fifty pounds for each Executor; and in case the legacy shall not amount to a sufficient sum to extend the privilege to all, preference shall be given to the first named in the will.

VII. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held every year, in the month of May,¹ or as near thereto as may be deemed expedient by the Committee, when an account of the receipts and disbursements for the preceding year, and the proceedings of the Institution, and all other institutions at home and abroad, established on the British system, shall be stated, and a Report for publication agreed upon.

The attendance of ladies, and the members of the committees of Country and Local Schools on the British system is particularly solicited.

* * Notice shall be given by public advertisement in at least four morning and evening papers.

VIII. At the General Meeting, the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretaries shall be elected. A Committee of forty-eight Subscribers shall be chosen and denominated the General Committee for conducting the affairs of the Institution, with power to fill up vacancies during the year. Thirty-six shall be re-eligible from the Committee

¹ The committees of all other Institutions on the British system of Education are particularly requested to transmit the reports of their proceedings to the Secretary of the parent Society before the first of April in every year.

of the preceding year. Two or more Subscribers shall be nominated as Auditors of the accounts of the Institution. All officers receiving emolument, or who are not specified in this rule, shall be in the appointment and under the control of the Committee. And the Committee shall be empowered to fill up vacancies which occur by death or resignation during the year.

. No member of the Committee shall at any time, or under any circumstances, receive any pecuniary advantage from the Society, nor shall the Society ever make any dividend, gift, division, or bonus, in money or otherwise, unto or between any of its members. (*Added 1845.*)

IX. The Committee shall meet once, or oftener, in every month, and shall elect, at the first meeting in every year, either from among themselves, or from the general body of Subscribers, seven as a Committee of Finance and twelve as Inspectors. Of these Committees, two members shall constitute a quorum.

X. A Committee of twenty-four Ladies shall be appointed by the General Committee, to superintend the concerns of the Female Department of the School and Training Establishment; they will be expected to make a written Report of their proceedings to the General Committee once every month.

XI. The Vice-Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretaries shall be considered as members of the General Committee, and the Treasurer and Secretaries members of all committees.

XII. A Special General Meeting, at which no less than thirty shall constitute a quorum, shall be called at any time, at the requisition of the Committee, or any twenty-four Subscribers, on addressing a letter to the Secretaries, specifying the object of the meeting, at which no other business shall be brought forward. Ten days' notice shall be given, in at least four morning and evening papers, of every such intended meeting, and of the purpose for which it is called.

XIII. In case of equality of votes at any General or Committee Meeting, the Chairman shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.

XIV. All payments made on account of this Institution shall be signed by at least three of the Committee in committee.

XV. Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing Rules, the General Committee in London may from time to time, and upon such terms and conditions as the General Committee shall from time to time consider expedient, delegate to any local committee for the time being interested in or representing the constituency of any local or affiliated institution, any of the powers for the time being vested in the General Committee, so far as such powers may, in their exercise, affect or relate to the management of any such local or affiliated institution. . (*Added May 16, 1878.*)

XVI. None of the Rules of the Institution shall be repealed or altered, nor any new ones established, but at the General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose; nor shall any new rule, or abrogation or alteration of any existing rule, be valid until confirmed by a subsequent General Meeting.

N.B.—These Rules and Regulations were in force till 1906, when they were superseded by those set forth in the Schedule of the Charter and the Bye-laws of the Council, for which the current Annual Report may be consulted.

CHAPTER IV

1812-18

THE BRITISH SOCIETY AT WORK

Girls' Schools—Training Teachers—Application for Government Grant—Place and Auxiliary Societies—The new House—Foreign Work in Europe and America—Russia—France—The Composition of the Committee—Religious Difficulties.

IN pursuit of the founder of the movement as he wandered half way across the world to die in harness in the metropolitan city of the west, we have had to break away from the history of the work which he had inaugurated, and which was destined so triumphantly to survive both his errors and his life.

Taking up the story again, we must return to the period when the conflict with Lancaster was at its height, and enumerate the several developments then commencing. These include the opening of a girls' school and the institution for women teachers, the reports of sub-committees on "school-masters" and extension, the application for government aid, the raising of a large loan, the building of new premises, the issuing of the *Manual*, and extensive labours in foreign fields. The multifarious character of the society's work at this time will perhaps be best recognised if the many duties which occupied the committee from 1812 to 1818, and which formed the foundation for its future operations, be now considered together. This may render the present chapter somewhat confusing to the reader, but it will serve to give some general impression of the field of labour.

Strained relations with Lancaster would clearly hamper the society most in those departments which were chiefly

dependent upon his continued personal activity. When the relationship was broken off there was, at first, little possibility of extending the missionary work of arousing public opinion and founding new schools in the provinces, and at the same time discovering the most likely lads for training at the central establishment. These departments had gradually to be reorganised, and the gap left by the loss of so vigorous a personality as Lancaster's filled as far as was possible. The work of forming girls' schools was entrusted to Ann Springman, whom Lancaster had trained and already employed in a similar way, and much activity was displayed in this direction.

Already, in October 1812, when Lancaster was gone to Tooting, a school for needlework and general instruction was opened by the committee in the King's Road, Chelsea, a situation which, as William Corston reported, was "admirably adapted for the visits of ladies of rank," visits to which the worthy man evidently looked forward with solicitous anxiety. This school and eventually the whole of the girl's school work was placed under the care of a ladies' committee, upon which the personages referred to by Mr. Corston did useful service, a service which found due recognition henceforward in the annual reports.

The formation of this committee was undoubtedly very necessary. The ladies found a considerable degree of disorder both in the Chelsea school and in the women's side of the Borough Road establishment; and in August 1814, they removed the young schoolmistresses to a house in Chelsea, of which Miss Springman soon afterwards took charge. With the rebuilding of the Borough Road establishment in 1817 the two sides of the work were again united in the same building, Miss Springman retaining her important post for another forty years.

The other side of the same work was felt to be in some respects both more important and more difficult to handle; but as Lancaster had for several years been unable to give much

time to the actual teaching and training of teachers, it had already fallen largely into the hands of a man whom he himself had named and chosen. This was John Pickton, who had been articled to Lancaster in 1803, and had spent the four succeeding years in his school. From 1807 to 1811 he had had charge of a large school in Bristol, and after this for seventeen or eighteen years was teacher of Borough Road school and superintendent of the central establishment. Crossley, who afterwards took his place, and was one of Lancaster's pupils in 1805, became Pickton's general monitor, or principal assistant in the school.

But as this school had been the corner-stone of the whole of the society's work it was very naturally the part which suffered most in the crisis. Its members fell from the thousand lads found there by Allen in 1808 to little more than a quarter of that total, the decline being due to a combination of causes, including the bad condition of the old building and the multiplication of other schools upon the same system in the neighbourhood.

Turning now more especially to the work recorded in the committee's minutes we find that ten days after Lancaster's final resignation a "sub-committee on schoolmasters," consisting of Joseph Hume, James Mill, father of the economist, and J. F. Vandercrom, brought in a notable report, in which they declare: "The system has hitherto been very defective, as no attempt has been made to teach the youths intended for schoolmasters anything beyond the regular routine of school-training for children in general; that, hence, the greater part of the time, which might have been employed to increase their knowledge and improve their minds, has been lost and habits of idleness rather encouraged. That the degree of ignorance in which many of the youths have been sent out to form and conduct schools in the country has been such as to reflect discredit on the institution.

"The committee, therefore, beg leave to recommend as essen-

tial to the future usefulness and respectability of the institution that every youth in training for a schoolmaster shall be instructed as far as may be compatible with the circumstances of the institution in the following branches of education, viz., firstly, a knowledge of the English grammar sufficient to qualify them to speak and write their own language with correctness and propriety; secondly, the improvement of their handwriting and knowledge of arithmetic; thirdly, geography and history, and in addition to these, when time and other circumstances will admit, the youths may be initiated in other useful branches of knowledge, under the direction and inspection of a committee of superintendence."

They also proposed that a Mr. Daniel, "who has received a college education and is now belonging to the institution," should assist them in all this. He would be satisfied with "such moderate allowance for a salary as his efficiency may hereafter appear to deserve." They suggested, also, that a committee of five be appointed for superintendence. The report was duly accepted and entered upon the minutes, May 7, 1814.

Alongside this very proper determination to improve the intellectual equipment of the young schoolmasters, we observe the kindly Mr. Corston's anxiety for their subsequent financial condition which was indeed but miserable. In October 1813 he brought forward a plan for a Master's Benefit Society, but the great practical difficulties which beset any such scheme prevented its adoption. Corston seems always to have taken a special, almost fatherly, interest in the worldly condition of the British teachers, the minutes of subsequent years bearing testimony to his earnest desire for their welfare. But while the institution was heavily burdened with debt, and the task of training teachers, even with the greatest economy, proved to be a costly one, the society was hardly in a position to entertain proposals which must still further increase its obligations. The school itself, through which, by 1812, some

8000 children had passed, did not cost the society more than about £200 a year; but in 1813 the loss on the training establishment amounted to seven times that amount.

Meanwhile the indebtedness of the institution was yearly increasing, and in 1814 the committee resolved to raise a further public loan of £10,000 to pay off the original trustees and provide some necessary additional capital for the future. The original proposal was that a hundred individuals should each become responsible for raising the sum of £100 before January 1, 1817, and that the money thus subscribed should be invested in the names of Samuel Whitbread, Sir John Jackson,¹ Samuel Hoare, and William Allen. Nearly £4000 was subscribed by the end of May 1815, and the whole sum was completed by the date assigned, Robert Owen alone subscribing £1000. Before that time, however, further heavy obligations were incurred, for it had become manifestly necessary to rebuild the whole establishment on another site at a cost of nearly £7000.

These facts may serve to illustrate the urgent financial problem which was the almost constant preoccupation of the committee during this period, and which lay with special weight upon the shoulders of the treasurer. At the same time it must not be supposed that their efforts went unregarded by the public. It is true that they received no support which can be compared with that given to the National Society during the first four years of its existence when it raised £60,000; but during a similar period, from 1809-13, the British Society received £9000.

An interesting and very significant though vain attempt was also made to obtain government assistance. At the committee of July 15, 1814, a letter was read from Lord Sidmouth, now one of the secretaries of state, to Mr. Whitbread, from which it appears that the former had been commissioned to approach Lord Liverpool, who had recently come into office,

¹ He had recently been made baronet.

with a view to obtaining a grant of £20,000 from the Prince Regent to relieve the institution from the pressure of its debts. Lord Sidmouth wrote that the Premier could not regard this as consonant with his public duty. The fact that this request should have been made at all, and to a Tory Prime Minister, sufficiently indicates the conviction of the society that it was engaged in a great national work which ought to be recognised as such; and it also indicates its willingness, even as early as 1814, to receive a government grant, with all that this must inevitably involve.

The appeal for funds issued early in 1815 by the committee speaks of the relations between the central establishment and the local committees and schools in all parts of the country. Of these there were probably by this time from 150 to 200, but large regions still remained untouched by the society's operations. The committee could never be satisfied till the whole country was provided with schools on an inclusive religious basis, and every child had the opportunity of obtaining instruction. This large conception of the task before them had been clearly defined in a very valuable report submitted by a sub-committee on "the improvement of the society" to the meeting of February 4, 1815. In this the hand of Francis Place is plainly traceable.

Few men did more for the society in 1814-15 than did Place, who seems to have taken a very active share in the work at that formative period. He had set himself to eliminate from and to guard against the introduction into its constitution and by-laws of any words savouring of patronage or mere class charity. With the encouragement of Edward Wakefield, James Mill, and Brougham he now planned the systematic organisation of education in the Metropolis.

He had already assisted in founding the West London Lancasterian Association in 1813, with its motto, "Schools for All," and had designed a new series of reading lessons dealing with useful things, which were unfortunately not

accepted by the committee. With Bentham and others he sought to apply the Lancasterian system of class teaching to secondary schools. Moreover, he showed himself a faithful critic of Fox and Allen and of all the financial arrangements of the society, plainly pointing out the extravagant cost of the training department, declaring, for example, that in 1814, while the public had subscribed £3000, the committee had only trained six teachers for other schools while maintaining two free schools of their own for some 350 boys and girls. When he sought to bring order into the management and to give the committee greater control over its officers he found himself in conflict with Fox, who was often nervously overstrung and probably misunderstood his motives, regarding him as Lancaster had done—merely as “a professed adversary of the sacred writings” and a “firebrand of discord.” Allen took Fox’s part, and Place, who had already been checkmated on the West London Association, eventually withdrew from the work of the committee during 1815. He left with some bitterness against Fox, but always retained a warm esteem for Allen; and some at least of his own work for the society which is indicated in this report bore good fruit in future years. Place represents that notable group of freethinking Radicals which contributed more to the framing of the society’s policy during these critical years than is usually remembered.

So much by the way for Francis Place. The valuable report of February, 1815, beginning with the prickly subject of economy, demanded the dissolution of the society’s boarding establishment for schoolmasters and instead the boarding or boarding out of students at a fixed rate. Acting upon this suggestion Pickton was given an inclusive allowance for himself and family of £200 a year, and was henceforward to board six pupils at forty guineas per head, considerably more than the charge made by Lancaster at Tooting. Mr. Daniel, the tutor already referred to, was to have £40 and board, and Isaac Walters £32 and board, making the estimated expenses of the

training institution about £600 a year exclusive of the clothes of the pupils.¹

In the report the sub-committee proceeds in the second place to propose a union of the London schools by means of district auxiliary societies, to be established on the same lines as those of the Bible Society. These, with local associations working under them, would be able to give far more vigilant attention, both to existing schools and to the needs of unprovided localities, than was at present possible for lack of such organisation. It would be their duty to cover the whole of the metropolis. And the field could not be limited to London; throughout the whole country such societies must be set on foot to obtain preliminary information as to the numbers of the population, the state of the poor, the number of uneducated children, and the method of advance best suited to local peculiarities and requirements. The central organisation would continue to assist sporadic, isolated schools with grants for rent and salaries, and would keep up a regular correspondence with them. The great end of the society was defined as "the diffusion of education, with the diffusion of benevolence, social affection, and sound morality."²

In the next report, the society, June 1815, speaking of the proposed auxiliaries, describes itself as "now only commencing its career." In July, Allen and Fox went down to Bristol to help in the formation of the first auxiliary which, six months later, contributed £250 to the society's funds. Writing at the opening of the next year, Allen says he is now "beginning in earnest" on this work of extension, but unforeseen circumstances occurring in the spring checked his progress in this direction.

Fox who, though he had unfortunately succeeded in driving Place from the committee, had proved himself to be the life and soul of the society's work during these difficult years, broke down at length completely, and died, April 11, 1816.

¹ Minutes, April 1815.

² Minutes, February 4, 1815.

Allen and he had worked together like a David and Jonathan; and shortly after his death his friend went for a tour on the continent.

Fox was still comparatively young at the time of his death. He had then reached the same age as had Lancaster when, two years later, he finished his work in England and sailed for America; they were both forty years old. The burden of the last few years had weighed heavily on Fox, never, it would seem, a man of very robust physique; perhaps no one had felt more than he the bitterness of the conflict with Lancaster, and the breaking up of the old partnership and goodwill. His share of responsibility also had been heavy. In speaking of his death the minutes of the committee declare that "the society is indebted to their late invaluable secretary for its existence, preservation, and extensive utility."

The honorary post of secretary remained open for some years after Fox's death, the actual work falling upon James Millar, who became assistant secretary and the paid servant of the committee; while foreign correspondence fell to Dr. Schwabe, and, from 1818, to a special sub-committee on correspondence.

Before passing to the wider field of the society's labours it is desirable to speak of an important matter already referred to. The old building on the site leased in Belvedere Place from Samuel Rogers had fallen into such dilapidation ten years after acquisition that the removal of the school became necessary; and a suitable piece of land having been obtained from the City Corporation, contracts for building the new "House for the Establishment" were duly signed in July 1816.

The new school would seem to have presented a much more imposing aspect and to have occupied a "more desirable situation" than the old, which was surrounded by mean streets. It was built on the site which was henceforward to be associated with the work of the society until the removal of the Training College to Isleworth in 1890, a site which is now occupied by the Borough Polytechnic. The new range of buildings with

the high central block, reached by a flight of steps, and the low wings on either side occupied by the boys' and girls' schools, was duly opened on the king's birthday, June 4, 1817, by the Duke of Sussex in the presence of the future president of the United States, John Quincy Adams, and many distinguished persons.

Meanwhile also, in 1816, the *Manual to the Model Schools* was published and rapidly translated into foreign languages for propagandist work abroad, while it served also to bring greater uniformity into those at home. Educational movements on the continent were eagerly discussed. The society had always watched with interest the work of Pestalozzi and other contemporary educational reformers, and his name frequently appears on the minutes; in the report of July 1818, his methods and those of Fellenberg are referred to as calculated chiefly for the benefit of the comfortable classes; they appeared at that time too costly and elaborate for the common people, for whose benefit the cheap and ready methods of the British system had been especially evolved and promulgated. At the same time the society held a progressive attitude; it had acquired the copyright of a new analytical grammar, was engaged upon improvements in the reading and arithmetic lessons, and promised to communicate educational news to its correspondents.

While the work of the committee at home was expanding, it felt its duty almost equally great in relation to needs abroad. Indeed, there were not a few of its friends whose principal interest probably lay in foreign fields. Such were, for example, many of the philanthropists whose first concern at this time was for the cause of abolition in the West Indies, of the negroes in Africa, of the evangelisation of the native races of India, or of Protestantism in Europe.

Moreover, to men like William Allen, the purpose of the society must needs be world-wide; and while promoting the cause at home by the establishment of auxiliaries, he was from

the beginning ever anxious for its extension over the whole globe. If the mind of Place had been occupied in the mapping out of the metropolis and the provinces into clearly marked districts, Allen was also watching Ireland, France, the other countries of Europe, the British possessions abroad, the young American Republic with whom England had so recently been once again at war, and all the vast regions opening up before the enterprise of commerce and evangelical zeal, with a truly cosmopolitan interest. And it was not from mere worship of titles and notabilities that the vice-presidents of the British and Foreign School Society were drawn from among the most influential persons of the time. That it was British and National seemed to be attested by the interest of the royal family; that it was a popular cause, by the representatives of reform and liberal sentiment; but in its foreign relations also such men as the Duke of Kent, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Hastings, the High Commissioner Adam, and others proved themselves efficient helpers of the society.

We must turn then to the foreign field with its bewildering claims and interests as it spread out before the society in those years of the promise of peace, from the exile of Napoleon to the evacuation of France by the Allies. It was a period when, stimulated by the Napoleonic wars, in almost every part of the world the education of the people was beginning to occupy the thoughts of men.

Outside England, but in the British Islands, the work commenced in Dublin in 1812 by the Kildare Place Society with the co-operation of Lancaster, and upon the principles of the British Society, and also, independently, in other parts of Ireland by the Hibernian and other societies, grew rapidly throughout these years. The Dublin Society was already receiving government support in the summer of 1815; and was actively engaged, like the parent society, in the training of teachers and the fostering of local enterprise. Its efforts owed much to the initiative and sympathy of Lancaster

and his friends, but it was from the first an independent body. We shall refer again to its work at a later opportunity.

In Scotland also, where on the whole education was much more advanced than in England, encouraged by assistance from Borough Road, the Gaelic Society began to plant schools throughout the neglected Highlands. In spite of Lancaster's early efforts, little progress was made in Wales until a much later period.

Foreign interest and enterprise had already commenced. In May 1814, the annual report, which first includes the description of "Foreign" in the society's designation, refers to the excellent work being done in Washington by the training institution established there by Robert Ould who had been sent out in 1811. In British North America, Captain Walter Bromley, to be long associated with the society, was promulgating "the plan" in Nova Scotia, where, under the patronage of the Duke of Kent, he founded the Royal Acadian Society and the Royal Acadian School for poor children of all creeds and colours in Halifax. His work was supported by a vote of money (£200) from the local Legislature and by grants of materials from the society in 1815. Movements were already on foot in Canada; a school at Montreal is mentioned in the 1813 report, and apparently the secretary took care to bring the claims of the society before the outgoing Governors of Canada and Nova Scotia, endeavouring more or less successfully to obtain their countenance for the system in their respective provinces.

Turning to operations in Europe we find that early in 1814 there had been application from Denmark for assistance, and a Mr. Feldborg was accordingly admitted to Borough Road for training. Interest in that country had already been excited some three years earlier when a prisoner of war had been given up by the government to the care of the society for training, and when the committee engaged the services of another Dane

to lecture on the system in his own country as well as in Sweden and Prussia.

Dr. Schwabe, the foreign secretary of the society, had made a tour in northern Germany in 1814, and had opened correspondence with individuals in several centres. The method seems to have been widely discussed but to have made little progress in these quarters, though the Duke of Saxe-Weimar engaged one of the Borough Road teachers to open a training establishment in Weimar, in 1817; while in Austria also the Archduke John became interested in the system.

In the Duke of Bedford's letter, from which we have already quoted, there is a reference to two schools on the Lancasterian system which had been founded in Lisbon in 1812 for the children of British soldiers, under the patronage of the Duke of Wellington. These were designed for the use of such troops as were then in the peninsula, and doubtless served their temporary purpose. Other schools were from time to time attached to special regiments, notably those in the special command of the Duke of Kent, wherever he might be sojourning, and it was apparently by his orders that the system thus first found its way into India.

A better established and more hopeful effort was made in Spain through the agency of a Captain Kearney, a member of the Irish regiment there, who was duly trained at the Borough Road. In August 1817, the Duke del Infantado wrote that he was persuaded that the king "will protect and encourage a general establishment of your system throughout the kingdom." He had in fact ordered that the Lancasterian *Manual* should henceforward take the place of the text-books formerly in vogue, and had promised to establish a model school in Madrid. This was duly done; and the school was opened on January 9, 1818. The movement seemed to have taken root and for a while extended rapidly, but it was soon to meet with clerical opposition.

Correspondence was kept up with many interested in-

dividuals in Rotterdam and in various parts of Germany; sheets of lessons were forwarded to the great educationalist variously styled "Mr. Pestallotzi," or "Pestillozzi," and to Professor Pictet, in Switzerland; others to Antigua in the West and Amboyna in the Dutch East Indies, while slates were even sent out to New South Wales, and to a school established at Gnadenenthal in 1738 by the Dutch among the Hottentots of Cape Colony, and held there at first under the protection of an immense pear-tree.

Far afield also, an interesting experiment was commenced in Hayti as early as 1810 under King Henry Christophe; and among the honorary foreign members of the society in 1818 was King Henry's Duc de Limonade.¹ On the other side of the island where Republican manners reigned, the President had been visited by that remarkable Quaker evangelist Stephen Grellet, the friend of Allen, and he in due time made application for teachers also. But these, like so many other early experiments, seem hardly to have become thoroughly established.

Other enterprises were more permanent. The African lads sent out to Sierra Leone, with the support of the Governor, sent word in due time of a flourishing school established under their charge, while from India came news of constantly increasing activity in many mission centres, and notably in Bombay, and Calcutta where a school was established as early as 1810, and where in 1819 a school committee consisting of eight natives and sixteen Europeans was formed. Great interest was also felt in England in certain proposals made for the promotion of girls' schools "on the system" in Bengal, and subsequently a lady was trained and sent out to organise the work.

But the two most interesting developments of 1814 were connected with France and Russia, and the latter was directly due to the efforts of Allen. In June, after the signing of the

¹ The name of the Duc de Marmalade, another Haytian worthy, does not appear.

Treaty of Paris, the Emperor Alexander of Russia and King Frederick William III. of Prussia came to London on the invitation of the Prince Regent before attending the Congress at Vienna. Allen as clerk to the Quaker "Meeting for Sufferings" addressed certain memorials to them. Interviews with the Russian Ambassador, and eventually with the Emperor, followed. At these he was able to lay before them, not only the direct objects in view, but also on June 21 the work of the society, the Emperor attending closely and remarking, "It is indeed a subject of great importance." Allen followed this up, discussing the same matter again in July and August with Count Lieven, the Ambassador, and drawing out a scheme for presentation to the Czar.

This seems to have had excellent results, for in the winter of 1816-17 four Russian youths arriving in England and being initiated into the principles of the system were duly trained, by the Emperor's wish, at the Borough Road Institution, whence they proceeded elsewhere to obtain a knowledge of Dr. Bell's methods. Subsequently Allen visited St. Petersburg and opened a way for further efforts.

The Peace of Paris suggested prospects of educational work throughout the whole continent, and especially in France, and several of the members of the committee and other friends of the society were among those who visited Paris during the summer.

About the beginning of August, Allen received a call from the Count de Bournon, an eminent French scientist, who had an appointment under the king, and was interested in the education of the poor. Shortly after, Allen went for a holiday to Scotland, visiting New Lanark, where he had now a large interest in the great cotton mills associated with the name of Robert Owen. During his absence a young French pastor, François Martin, was sent over by the Protestant Synod at Bordeaux to receive instruction at the institution.¹ He was

¹ In October the committee received news of a school upon their

an able and intelligent fellow, and in April 1815 was appointed director of the first monitorial school in Paris, and assisted in the organisation of others. In this he co-operated with a notable group of educational enthusiasts, who had visited the Royal Free School to good purpose.

Already in 1810 the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt had translated Lancaster's *Improvements*, and now in 1815 the Comte de Laborde, the Comte de Lasteyrie, the Baron de Gérando, M. Jomard, and the Abbé Gaultier were appointed by Napoleon, on his dramatic return to Paris, to inquire into the methods of education best adapted to the needs of France. Their deliberations were presided over by Carnot, the Minister of the Interior.

In spite of the political revolutions of the summer of 1815, Martin, who had already prepared the necessary French manuals for his work, immediately commenced the training of monitors, and soon had a group established in the old College de Lisieux, Rue St. Jean de Beauvais, the British Society voting £100 on August 25 for his assistance, and at the same time thanking the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Stanhope for his active co-operation in the work. Martin was joined in August 1815 by Emile Frossard, son of the dean of the Protestant Faculty at Montauban, and by Georges Schlatter, both of whom had been attending the Borough Road Institution.

At first the change of government in France after the fall of Napoleon did the movement little injury. Martin's became a model school under the government, the royal family subscribed to the funds, and other schools were rapidly organised in Paris.

But early in 1816, Martin wrote of his struggles against clerical opposition which was really inevitable when the pronounced Protestantism of the teachers is considered. This

system at Laneret, and a Mr. Moran, who had lived in Spain and had come to London to make inquiries on behalf of the late Cortes, was declared to be fitted to take charge of a school in Paris, whither he was going at his own expense.

opposition bore fruit in the Royal Decrees of March 19 and April 4, which, while they promoted the establishment of schools throughout the whole country and school committees in every canton, declared that non-Catholic masters must be excluded from the schools while the Roman Catholic religion must be taught in them.

Yet the movement grew. In September 1816, the Count de Laborde reported 1000 subscribers in Paris, though he lamented that there were still some 50,000 children uneducated. However he had good hopes for the future, and auxiliary societies were being formed in the great provincial towns.

We read two years later¹ that "the schools of the Protestants are equally with those of the Catholics patronised and supported by authority. The government seems wisely to consider that notwithstanding the difference of religious creeds, every Frenchman should be treated as a child of the state, and that the country is deeply interested in its being trained up a useful member of the community." In this passage we see clearly emerging a more modern conception of the social purposes of education than had characterised the utterances of Lancaster or his friends.

By this time—1818—there were eighteen auxiliary societies in France, with six hundred schools in all, a number which had doubled in the spring of 1819. These are described as being conducted on the British system.

Here, as in England, it was the use of the Bible as a non-sectarian reading book which led to the determined opposition of a party which was unable to distinguish between religion and its own particular religious position. Lancaster, at this time of course in opposition to the society and its policy, bitterly criticises the line of its action in France, pointing out, doubtless as a result of his own experience in Ireland, the folly of attempting to introduce a general educational system into a Catholic country by the agency of young Protestant pastors.

¹ In the Report of the B.F.S.S.

The society should, he says, have acted in co-operation with the "Christian Brothers," instead of in competition with them, but it may well be doubted whether co-operation with them would have been any more practicable in France than Lancaster had found it with the clerical supporters of Bell.

Naturally the rapid extension of Lancaster's idea was making its limitations more evident. The society might honestly believe in the universal applicability of the system, and even of its scriptural reading lessons, to peoples of all colours and creeds in every portion of the globe. But they became gradually convinced by the relentless logic of experience that certain regions were closed to them, and that they could only occupy others if they would accommodate their views to those of people who differed from them at least in detail. Thus in some places, at least, they appear to have made modifications in their reading lessons in order that these might become acceptable to Roman Catholic and Orthodox Greek parents.

Towards such changes they were doubtless assisted by the extraordinary variety of social and religious outlook represented on the committee and among its supporters. There were freethinking Radicals of several hues in the group of Place's friends, Bentham, James Mill, David Ricardo, with Joseph Hume, Robert Owen, and Sir Samuel Romilly; there were the Whigs of the *Edinburgh Review* group, Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, and Mackintosh; there were Whitbread the brewer, Wilberforce and Clarkson the abolitionists, and the several philanthropic dukes; there were Irish Catholic peers, and personages of Unitarian sympathies like the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Carrington, W. Smith, M.P., and John Martineau; among the seven reverend gentlemen were famous Dissenting ministers like Rowland Hill and Dr. Collyer; while there was besides a whole range of Quaker worthies, whose names, from Barclay, Capper, Foster, and Fell, to Newman, Sturge, and Sterry, recall the story and tradition of the Society

of Friends. From among them all stands out in startling singularity the wholly unexpected name of Lord Byron, one of the vice-presidents. From such a council of notables a certain catholicity of spirit might surely be looked for in face of the great problem of their time, the appalling social conditions of the whole people, amid increasing religious bitterness and political reaction. A knowledge of the parties represented by the names of the British Society's vice-presidents and committee in the years 1814-15 only renders the facts of their successful co-operation the more interesting.

It certainly does not increase our wonder that the religious question should already have caused some dissension within the ranks of the society. For it must be remembered that all children who came to a British school, and especially to that in the Borough Road, were enjoined to attend their parents' places of worship on Sunday, and were apparently liable to dismissal unless the injunction was obeyed. It is for example reported in 1816, with great satisfaction, that of the 358 children at the central schools 356 were found to be attending their parents' churches while 221 went to Sunday schools.

Place and Mill had vigorously protested against this regulation, and the rule was omitted from the rules of the West London Lancasterian Association; as was another which required the exclusive use of the Bible as the source of all reading lessons. The West London Committee substituted for this rule a statement that, "of religious books, the Bible alone, without gloss or comment, written or spoken, will be read." This, of course, caused grave disturbance to Fox, Allen, and the central committee, and relations became severely strained until the school was again brought into conformity.

The reading lessons used in the British Schools from 1818 onward followed the selections made by William Allen. An enumeration of the "complete set" given in the report for 1818 as being sold at 17s. by Mr. Pickton for the

society,¹ includes Bible passages illustrating the following subjects:—

Of God Almighty; Of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; Of the Word of God; Of the Light, Spirit, and Grace of God; Of Worship and Religion; Of Parents; Of Children; Of Masters and Servants; Of Husbands and Wives; Of our Duty to the Government; Of Lying and Flattery; Of Doing Justly; Of the Poor; Of Drunkenness; Of the Punishments of the Wicked; Of the Rewards of the Righteous.

While no sectarian catechism was permitted to be used, John Freame's *Scripture Instruction* had been introduced into the schools by Lancaster, who printed large editions at his press. This was arranged in catechetical form, the answers being composed of Scripture texts. These texts arranged under headings seem to have suggested Allen's selections.² It is easy to understand that, with the best of intentions on the part of the compiler, such selections as these were fairly open to criticism from those who were specially anxious to keep the work of the society clear from any doctrinal implication. The pathway of the committee was from the beginning set about by pitfalls, and they would have been more than human if they had not sometimes made a false step. The marvel is that in these early years they so far succeeded in establishing the work upon a sound basis of earnest religious feeling, in which the merely dogmatical and sectarian spirit was in abeyance, that it survived the trials and difficulties of a century of party strife.

¹ Among the other articles supplied by Mr. Pickton at Borough Road to the country and foreign schools were spelling, dictation, and arithmetic lessons; labels and badges, and various school materials, including slate pencils, and slates at from 7s. to 2s. per dozen.

² Bible reading was not by any means universal among Quakers at this time. Ackworth School had been established thirty years before the daily after-breakfast chapter from the New Testament was introduced. *J. S. Rowntree, His Life and Work*, p. 311.

CHAPTER V

1818-33

WORK AT HOME AND ABROAD

Death of the Duke of Kent—Brougham's Bill—Financial Efforts—Inspection—Changes in Officers—Foreign Work—Greece and the Islands—South America—Canada—West Indies—India—Egypt—Madagascar—The Central Schools—Religious Teaching—The Kildare Place Society—English Agricultural Districts 1830-32—Attitude towards Education in 1833.

THE year 1818 opens with the repayment to the five trustees of the moneys advanced by them in 1808 and the subsequent years, with interest, amounting in all to nearly £7000, and thus marking the end of a decade of anxiety.¹ One of the trustees was only represented by his executors, but Fox's memory remained green for many years to come, and a portrait of him was duly presented and hung in the society's new house.

In May came a proposal from the Dukes of Kent and Sussex that the birthday of the old king, who had been interested in the Lancasterian work ever since 1805, should be celebrated by a grand review of the Borough Road children; and in due course some 4000 assembled at Highbury before the Duke of Sussex, went through their evolutions to satisfaction, and were provided with dinner at the cost of a shilling a head.

The Duke of Kent with his Duchess and her brother, Prince Leopold, visited the school again during the summer; as also did the Grand Duke Michael of Russia. As noted in the last chapter, the Duke of Kent took more than a merely ornamental place in the society: he used his influence for it in

¹ The amounts are as follows: Allen, £2297, 12s. 2d.; Fox's executors, £2069, 9s. 2d.; Foster, £1211, 7s. 4d.; Corston, £856, 4s. 0d.; Jackson, £516, 15s. 2d.

many directions, and notably in Belgium, where in the autumn of 1819 he encouraged the formation of a school society, for which purpose the London committee had previously offered pecuniary and other assistance. Millar, the secretary, visited Brussels in October, and a representative of the new society attended the London committee in January 1820, proposing to send a teacher both to Borough Road and to Paris, where a great number of masters were now trained both for European and other experiments.

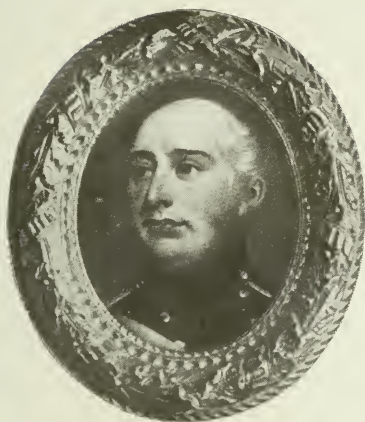
The Belgian school was opened in March, but the duke's work had already been cut short by his death, which occurred only a few days before that of the old king. At the special committee summoned on receipt of the sad news, February 1, 1820, the following letter from the late duke was read:—

“SIDMOUTH, *January 8, 1820.*

“MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure last night of receiving your favour of the 3rd inst., with the interesting enclosure herewith returned,¹ which as the constant and zealous friend of the promotion of education amongst the poor, upon the principles of the British and Foreign School Society all over the world, you may easily imagine has given me sincere satisfaction. I most highly approve of the instruction the committee have given you to correspond with several highly respectable individuals quoted in the letter from Mr. Stephen Grellet, and the moment you are so good as to explain to me *to whom* it is wished *I should address a letter* recommending the opening a correspondence with our society, in general furtherance of the cause of education, and an interchange of communication and assistance, I will immediately pen it: but your letter is not sufficiently explicit on that head, and therefore I am prevented doing this by return of post.

“The communications that I have received from Brussels, from my old respected friend Colonel Houlton, have been ex-

¹ Grellet's letters from Italy and Germany.



H.R.H. THE DUKE OF KENT.

From the Miniature at Windsor Castle.

By kind permission of H.M. the King.

tremely satisfactory, and I conceive now that a proper subscription has been raised, and Mr. Piret chosen as the fittest person to fill the important station of master, the only thing remaining is that he should have a complete training in the first instance at the Borough Road School, and then a little practice at Paris, at the Center School, during which time, [if] as you judiciously propose, Mr. Frossard can be spared from Jersey to take charge of the school, the best results might be expected to the undertaking. I have already written to recommend Mr. Piret being sent to England, to my friend Colonel Houlton, and I think it would be right for Dr. Schwabe as our foreign secretary to address a letter to the president of the committee, who I believe is Mr. Beyens, to propose giving the instructions and necessary information to Mr. Piret for such time as may be necessary, and if at the same time Mr. Frossard could be spared to take his place in the interim, I apprehend there would be little doubt of the object being accomplished.

"Upon the subject of the master and mistress for Amorbach,¹ the Duchess thinks she can do nothing until our return there in the spring, to pay our annual visit, at which period I trust the matter will be brought to its completion, it being our joint intention to fit up a school for the instruction of all the poor of that place both male and female at our personal expense if we cannot accomplish it otherwise; conceiving that when her son comes of age it will be the handsomest present we can make him. I have now only to suggest that when you answer this, you will forward your letter to N. Kirtland, Esq., No. 8 Bennett Street, St. James's, and mention in it what are the last accounts from our friend William Allen, and when we may hope to see that worthy man return to Old England.

"With every sentiment of esteem and regard to yourself, I remain, My dear sir, Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"JAMES MILLAR, Esq., etc., etc."

¹ Amorbach near Darmstadt in Southern Germany.

At a subsequent meeting the committee drew up an address to his widow in which they say: "It is some consolation under the deep sense of the irreparable loss which the cause of universal education has sustained, to know that the noble sentiments which actuated His Royal Highness in so warmly espousing it, are and will be perpetuated in the breasts of those who were the nearest to his heart—and thus descend to posterity in the members of a family which is become so dear to the friends of Religion and Virtue."

At this time Allen, the treasurer of the society, who was an intimate of the duke and one of the trustees for his estate, was still abroad. He had set forth with his French-American Quaker friend Stephen Grellet soon after Lancaster said farewell to the shores of England, travelling by way of Stavanger, Stockholm, and Helsingfors to St. Petersburg, where during the ensuing winter he had interviews with the Czar Alexander and many notables, and drew up and had translated into Russ the School Scripture Reading Lessons which the Czar printed at his own expense.

Pursuing his journey by Moscow and Constantinople he passed through the Ionian Islands, visited Malta and Italy, arriving home about the end of February 1820 to take up again the work in London which had occupied so much of his thought and directed so many of his labours during his eighteen months abroad.

Allen's journey proved fruitful, for he never left a town before he had set some seeds of his own enthusiasm and enlightened philanthropy in such good soil as he could find. He quickened interest in popular education in every country through which he passed; notably in Scandinavia and in the Greek Islands. That his arduous labours in Russia bore comparatively little fruit was due doubtless to the condition of society in that vast empire, and to the character of its government and of its ruler, a man of the best intentions and

generous sympathies, but without any real understanding of the progressive movement in Western Europe.

The journey and its results were of extraordinary interest, yet one cannot avoid some feeling of regret that, for the sake of the society, Allen had not at this time focussed his attention more closely on the problem at home. Considering the magnitude of this side of its task, the society's readiness to respond to other calls and claims is truly astonishing.

However, in July 1820, Allen's energies were directed to vigorously opposing the Education Bill of Brougham, to the consideration of which we ought now to devote ourselves for a moment.

We have noted the co-operation of Brougham in the work of the society; we must now record the differences which partially divided him from it. This powerful, tactless man, who had entered Parliament in 1810 partly through the influence of the Duke of Bedford, had immediately become the leader of the Opposition to the Tory Ministry. He was out of Parliament for nearly two years, but was again at his post, when in 1816 he attended Fox's funeral with other members of the society. No longer associated with the Radicals, he was yet pursuing his investigations into the condition of education in the metropolis. With the support of Canning he obtained the appointment of a select committee of the Commons for that purpose; before which Allen gave evidence that at this time there were 120,000 London children whose education was absolutely unprovided for.

In the course of his inquiries he had found the gravest abuses in connection with charitable educational bequests, and amid much opposition he obtained the appointment of a Commission of inquiry in 1818, which eventually issued in the permanent establishment of the Charity Commissioners.¹ After these labours, he brought in his two Education Bills, in June 1820, for the compulsory building, government, and

¹ *English National Education*, p. 56.

maintainance of parochial schools, only to have them defeated through the vigorous opposition of the British and Foreign School Society. Having previously set the clergy against him, he had now alienated and alarmed the other party by his proposal that every teacher must necessarily be a member of the Established Church, approved by the clergyman of the parish. He would confine the religious teaching to Bible reading with necessary explanations, and exclude all formularies, according to the principles of the society, except on one half day in each week when the Church Catechism should be taught, but when children should not be punished for absence. The suggested compromise exasperated both parties, and rendered this species of legislation impracticable in the future.

The conflict between Brougham and the committee, strenuous as it was, did not break the bonds of fellowship, and he remained a vice-president till his death—even taking the chair at the annual meeting in 1835. Unsuccessful as his legislative efforts had proved, they had proved his devotion to the cause of education, and in this respect had given him a notable pre-eminence among the political leaders of his time. His work was soon taken up by other friends of the society who carried it forward during the next half century, with excellent results for the future, though with little immediate legislative success, foremost among them being Lord John Russell.

In the meantime, however, the very failure of the legislature increased the need for voluntary effort, and the discussion of the problem brought with it, if nothing else, the conviction that that effort must not only be extended systematically over the whole country, but that it must be rendered everywhere more efficient. For these purposes funds were urgently required. The generous treasurer, who was now starting on a new enterprise, corresponding to Corston's Fincham industrial school, at Lindfield in Sussex, was unable to lend any large sums to the society, and we find the committee turning about for new sources of aid, and making application to the wealthy

companies of the City of London in 1822, an application altogether ignored by most, but generously responded to by the Fishmongers'.

Even less successful was that made to Sir Robert Peel, the Home Secretary, in the following year. George IV. having materially assisted the National Society by his letter ¹ to the Primate directing that contributions should be raised for its funds throughout the kingdom, and grants having been voted for schools conducted on the British system in Ireland, the committee had some ground for hope when they drew up their memorial to Peel on August 3. But this hope gradually faded out, and must have nearly died when, a year later, the Home Secretary declared the impossibility of his advising a Parliamentary grant since it might establish a precedent "extremely inconvenient to Government."

The rebuff was serious; for after all the efforts of the committee the income of the society was still inconsiderable, amounting to little more than £2000. Yet in spite of disappointment, and of continually increasing demands as their field of labour extended, the committee succeeded in raising such funds as were absolutely necessary, and in 1829, after a period of anxiety, the institution was once more declared free of debt. This result had been only achieved by economies made at the expense of the work itself; for the number of students had fallen in those years to a minimum, and the model school had ceased to be "free," the children having once more—1827—commenced the payment of fees. These were modest it is true, 2d. a head per week, or 4d. for three of the same family; but they practically covered the expenses of the school for some years, until the cost of a more thorough education began again to outstrip these resources.

There was another source of possible income which as yet remained almost untapped. If the committee could appoint

¹ The letter brought in £28,000; evidence of W. Cotton, Select Committee, 1824.

travelling agents who would represent the society in all parts of the country, would stir up interest in its work, initiate enterprise, form committees and auxiliaries, and inspect established schools both for encouragement and advice, much good might result, and the central body might reap no inconsiderable harvest of subscriptions. During the twenties several tentative experiments were made in this direction. Mr. James Heard, afterwards at St. Petersburg for many years, had been first temporarily employed, his inquiries in Sussex and Surrey having been soon followed up by Allen's foundation of an industrial school near Brighton.

In the summer of 1823, Mr. Millar and others visited the west of England and brought back some £200. Two years later Captain Walter Bromley, returning from his labours in Nova Scotia, was engaged to travel in the home counties, and elsewhere, during a period of nearly two years. It was not however till 1830 and 1831 that Lieutenant Fabian and Mr. Althans were engaged as travelling agent and inspector for the metropolitan district, respectively, and from that time their work was of the greatest value to the cause of education in general and of the society in particular.

Other important changes in the staff of the society occurred during the decade of 1823-33, and may be mentioned here.

After Fox's death the secretary's post remained nominally vacant till 1824, but its duties were faithfully performed for ten years by James Millar. His resignation in 1827 was followed by that of the Rev. J. M. Cramp, who for a few years had held the title, and by that of Dr. Schwabe the foreign secretary in 1829. All these posts fell shortly afterwards to the charge of Mr. Henry Dunn, the remarkable man who, as temporary superintendent of the Borough Road School in succession to Mr. Pickton, as secretary, and as a member of the committee, for nearly half a century exercised so powerful an influence over the life of the society.

Thus, as the first quarter of a century of the society's labour drew to a close, we find, according to the natural course of the generations, that one post after another is being filled by new men. But while many offices were in new hands, the stalwart treasurer still remained, and Miss Springman continued the Lancasterian tradition on the girls' side. Mr. Crossley, who, after being his assistant for eleven years, took Pickton's place in 1829, was also one of the founder's family. Thus, despite inevitable changes in *personnel* and the estrangement of Lancaster, there was really no break in the direct influence of his spirit and initiative upon the work.

Mr. Dunn, indeed, represents the new blood that must vivify any society if its life is to continue. After a training at Borough Road he had been sent out to Guatemala with the object of founding a model school in the capital of that republic. But the priests were against him, and he shortly afterwards returned to England, to find employment in the central establishment, his duties at first relating principally to foreign correspondence and the oversight of the model schools. His unfortunate experience in America by no means damped that missionary zeal which characterised him; and for him, as for Allen, and for Robert Forster, the foreign side of the society's work must always have retained a peculiar interest.

To that foreign work during the decade we must now turn again—to note its ever-widening circle. By 1821 it covered an immense field. In Europe, a beginning had been made by its friends in France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium; further afield, work was going forward in India, Sierra Leone, Cape Colony, Mauritius, the West Indian Islands, and both American continents.¹ The fields that now claim our special attention are: (1) Greece and the Ionian Islands; (2) Spanish America; (3) British North America; (4) the West Indies; (5) India; (6) Egypt; and (7) Madagascar;

¹ See *A Defence of the B.F.S.S.*, 1821.

and perhaps their importance from the point of view of the committee was, roughly speaking, in the order named.

1. From Greece the society seemed to see the word going forth once more through all the East. Allen had been intensely interested in his visits both to the islands and the mainland in the winter of 1819-20, and as early as June 1818 Lord Guiford had expressed his desire to introduce the system among the islands.

There something was being done already by a young Greek who, in 1817, had studied in Paris, and had subsequently translated the French spelling lessons and set up some Lancasterian schools. The Ionian Islands, which were now under British control, seem to have offered an open field for educational enterprise, and from 1819-46 the British Society was actively engaged upon it. From the first, the committee was assisted by the Lord Chief Commissioner and Governor; the former, Sir Frederick Adam, being for many years a vice-president of the society. A beginning was made in Santa Maura in 1819, by Dr. Politi, who carried on a vigorous propaganda throughout the archipelago for the next dozen years. After this, in 1835, the work was assisted by the Government, who appointed the Rev. Isaac Lowndes, the correspondent of the society in Corfu, as superintendent-general. When he left for Malta, in 1846, there were 117 schools in the islands with nearly 5000 scholars. Annexation to Greece took place in 1859.

In the list of the society's vice-presidents for 1814 occurs the name of Lord Byron, a life governor, whose interest in the liberation of Greece was afterwards to find a practical consummation. From 1820 onward the struggle for freedom was waged with varying fortune, and wherever an opportunity occurred, a foothold for education seems to have been secured.

At Missolonghi, itself, where Byron died on April 19, 1824, a school was established, probably in the same year, by one of the patriot princes, almost within sight of the Turkish forces. George Constantinidis, a former Cypriote slave, returned to

Greece from Borough Road, taking a collection of books with him, and was promptly installed as a teacher at the seat of government. Peace, however, was still far off, and was not secured till the recognition of independence in 1828; and even after this, in 1832, civil war broke out again. On its cessation the society induced Mr. H. Dickson, who like Mr. Lowndes had been a missionary in the islands, to make a tour of inspection on its behalf, giving advice and distributing school materials. Soon after this, education became duly established by national law, and Constantinidis was given charge of the teachers' training school at Athens, where he was still at work in 1870.

He was only one, though the most distinguished, of a number of Greek lads who were educated at the society's house; eight of these being mentioned in November 1824. The interest felt in this work is evidenced by the fact that in the following January a special committee was appointed to raise funds for the Greek schools.

The efforts of the society were long continued, and it has been said that there was scarcely a school in Greece which did not at some time receive its assistance, usually in the practical form of its invaluable school slates and slate-pencils. An interesting feature of the Greek and Ionian efforts was the interest displayed in schools for girls; but these were perhaps due rather to missionary effort than to the actual initiative of the Ladies' Committee in London.¹

From Greece and the islands there seemed at one time some real probability that the "system" might make its way into the East. Schools were indeed established in other parts of the Balkan peninsula; and in 1833 there were several in Asia Minor. But a few years later persecutions arose, the priests excluded the Scripture lessons from them, and they either changed their character or disappeared.

2. Far away, on the other side of the world, Mr. James Thomson, an agent of the Bible Society who had studied the

¹ *Educational Record*, xvi. 360.

system at Borough Road, began to busy himself in the spread of education in Spanish South America. In August 1819 he succeeded in establishing, with the co-operation of the society, a Lancasterian school in Buenos Ayres, whither the Committee sent out a supply of slates. This was promptly followed up, as public circumstances permitted, by further efforts in Monte Video, Valparaiso, Lima, Quito, and Bogota.

The system was duly established by law in Colombia, August 2, 1821, when it was ordained that a school should be built in every parish; and a normal school in each large city. Bolivar, the liberator, established it a little later in Peru, and Lancaster himself laboured for a while in Caracas.

It was due to the untiring exertions of Mr. Thomson, who visited the committee in 1825, that Dunn was sent out to Guatemala in 1826-7. Before leaving London for Mexico, Thomson had urged a comprehensive scheme for propagandist work at a special meeting, held November 22, 1826, but the necessary outlay, amounting to £1000, seemed in the condition of the society's purse entirely prohibitive. However, they sent out Dunn, and shortly afterwards a Mr. Garcia to Buenos Ayres.

While in Mexico, Thomson seems to have induced the Government of Vera Cruz to follow those of Colombia and of Peru in establishing the system. Though unconnected with the society, Lancaster's daughter and son-in-law were at work for some years in the country.

3. In British North America we have already had occasion to notice the labours of Captain Bromley at Halifax, who had there founded the Royal Acadian Society. With the aid of Earl Dalhousie, the governor, and a vote of money from the Legislature, he succeeded in selecting a suitable building, which was opened about 1821. But on his return to England at the beginning of 1825, the work flagged.

In the meantime at Montreal, in 1822, a British and Canadian School Society was founded on the same principles as that in

England, with a Borough Road teacher, Thomas Hutchings, as its first schoolmaster. The society was moderately successful and received Dalhousie's encouragement. Here also Lancaster did useful, but independent work about 1835.

Hutchings was the pioneer of a second enterprise in the West, being sent to St. John, New Brunswick, in 1832, to teach a school there. But, though the attempt was revived successfully at a later date, it failed under Hutchings.

On the whole, these experimental efforts of the society in this quarter of the globe can only have been regarded as somewhat unprofitable by the committee in London who were so anxiously endeavouring to obtain the best results for every pound expended out of their narrow income.

4. The British West Indies offered a field of peculiar interest during the period which closes with the emancipation of the slaves in 1833. The society had always been largely composed of men who were engrossed in the anti-slavery struggle. Among its vice-presidents were Wilberforce, Buxton, and the Lord Chancellor Brougham, while Clarkson was one of its early supporters. Most of the work undertaken by the society in the West Indies before 1833 was done through the missionaries, many of whom were previously trained at Borough Road, and afterwards supplied with materials.

Letters published in the annual reports describe the founding of Lancastrian schools in many of the islands from Barbadoes on the south-east where there was a central school in 1824, to Kingston (Jamaica) where, in the same year, the Baptist missionary, Mr. Knibb, reported that his school was already quite full. From the Barbadoes school on November 1821 had been received a singular requisition for a ship-load of bricks for building, but this does not appear to have been granted.

In April 1829 the committee declared by resolution that British West Indian education was one of its most important objects, but on the whole discouragement prevailed for the next four years in face of the bitter hostility of the planters;

though in 1832 the coloured men of Jamaica themselves formed a Jamaica Union School Society, on British lines.

5. Among the vice-presidents and life-governors from 1814-26 was the Marquis of Hastings—formerly Earl of Moira—who from 1813 to 1823 was Governor-General of India, and had been from the beginning a constant friend of the Lancasterian system both in Ireland, the Mediterranean, and the East.

The system had already been introduced into India before his appointment by means of army schools under orders of the Duke of Kent; and during the period under review in this chapter there is frequent mention in the reports and minutes of the schools about Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, which seem to have been principally conducted by English missionaries. Further south, the Ceylon schools are specially interesting, since they afforded an opportunity of cordial co-operation with the Catholic missionaries and others there. In 1818 we find an interesting decision of the committee to receive "two Buddha priests" at Borough Road for training. The Governor of Ceylon, Sir Alexander Johnson, was a vice-president and energetic friend of the society.

6. Egypt came into the scope of the society's efforts in 1822, when a copy of the *Manual* was sent to Osman Effendi Narigi at Cairo. In the following year, Allen reports the enlightened Pacha, Mehemet Ali, as being anxious to introduce the system. In 1826 the Scripture lessons were translated into Arabic, while in the report for 1830 mention is made of twenty "Arab lads" attending the central school. Their story is very suggestive. Mehemet Ali had kidnapped the most intelligent lads of good family and forwarded thirty of them to Paris and a score to London in order that they might be trained. A special house was taken in the Walworth Road, where they lived under a warden, coming down to school in a troop every morning. There they caused no little stir among the scholars, and taxed even Mr. Crossley's ingenuity as a teacher.¹

¹ J. Bonwick, *An Octogenarian's Reminiscences*, pp. 47-57.

These Egyptians proved good scholars and became great favourites in the school; they ranged from fourteen years of age up into manhood, and exercised a very wholesome and stimulating influence on the imagination of their Southwark associates. After learning English, they were duly apprenticed to trades and professions before returning to their homes.

7. A somewhat similar course appears to have been followed in the case of eight lads sent by King Radama, from Madagascar, in charge of the London Missionary Society. They were accompanied by Prince Rataffé, the king's brother, who was present at the general meeting in May 1821; and they attended the school for about two years, thus preceding the Greeks, as they again preceded the Egyptian youths.

One cannot but feel that the very presence of these sensitive children of the East, bringing with them into the heart of the British school movement issues entirely foreign to the mere quarrels of sects and parties, was one of the most important antiseptic influences at work in its midst. They kept the eyes of those who were at work in the central organisation lifted to scan a world-wide horizon: they compelled the statesmen of the society to seek a truly universal basis upon which education might stand sure.

Long as it already is, even the foregoing enumeration falls far short of completeness: the old interest in each European country was all this time maintained; correspondence knit together England and America; missionary enthusiasm enlisted the society in an effort to introduce "the system" by way of Malacca into the Chinese Empire, and travellers like James Backhouse carried propagandist literature into the Australasian settlements.¹

But in dwelling thus upon the cosmopolitan nature of the society's work, there is a danger lest we should overweigh, upon its foreign side, the committee's labours during these years. It is possible that after the eager impulse of the earlier

¹ Scripture lessons were sent out to Botany Bay in June 1823 (Minutes).

days the work both of training teachers and founding schools had, for a time, somewhat slackened. In 1821 the report mentions only thirteen student-masters present, and these probably only remained for a period of about three months. The number decreased during the following years, so that at one time it appears from the minutes that only a single student was present.¹ But the schools themselves under Mr. Pickton and Mr. Crossley on the one side, and Miss Springman (afterwards Mrs. MacRae) on the other, were full and in vigorous life. From 1817 to 1839 the boys' room, built to accommodate 500, remained the same, with its high windows, its long raised platform for the master under the clock, and opposite a portrait of George III. over his dictum, "It is my wish that every poor child in my dominions be taught to read the Holy Scriptures." The space along the side walls was left free for the "drafts" of eight or ten boys each, whose places were marked out in semi-circles on the floor, and who, with a monitor at their head, recited together from the lesson hung before them on the wall. Behind them, in the centre of the room, stood desks and forms; that of the first class, lower than the rest, running below the master's platform, and provided with a sand-desk in which the youngsters learnt their alphabet. The eight classes ascended according to their knowledge of letters, the fifth having reached words of two syllables and the seventh, of four; the number of the class was marked on a board fixed to the standard at the end of each desk.

The method of teaching was still Lancasterian, from the letters in the sand to the simultaneous shouting of the spelling lessons and the Scripture reading. Arithmetic was still confined to the first four rules, with "a little dexterity in setting down figures and calculating in a neat and distinct manner." But under Mr. Crossley, author of *The Intellectual Calculator*, it was to develop surprisingly, till the feats of mental arith-

¹ The number of students admitted was lowest in 1825, when it stood at fifteen. If there was at any time only a single student as the minute of February 13, 1824, seems to say, others must have entered soon after.

metic performed by the scholars, one of whom could "square four figures by head," came to equal the celebrated performances in Bible reading and geography which electrified visitors at the annual examinations.

Gradually enough the curriculum was extended. Some of the lads were taught French as early as 1819, with a view to foreign usefulness. Geometry followed for a few in 1821. In 1823 we are told that "a select and small number of boys" had been instructed in the elements of grammar, geography, and geometry "as a reward for good conduct in school," and in 1824 came trigonometry; linear drawing and singing followed later, the latter with considerable anxiety.

But the main feature of the curriculum in those early days was undoubtedly the Scripture reading lesson. This as we have seen was founded upon Freame's *Scripture Instruction*, a sort of Quaker catechism much in use in the earlier British schools, intended to promote virtue and practical religion, and to avoid disputed doctrines. Yet from the beginning there was no attempt to conceal the evangelical tendency of the instruction given. Doctrines like those of the Trinity and Atonement were plainly taught; though the main causes of offence, as between the several sects, were carefully avoided.

Certain religious difficulties, it need hardly be said, were inevitable. Such was the dispute about the close of the period with regard to the exemption of Jewish children from the New Testament Scripture lessons. The matter came up from the ladies' before the general committee, which decided that the children could not be excused. The question recurring from time to time, it was resolved in November 1833 that every care should "be taken to avoid wounding the feelings of parents or children." This was undoubtedly the attitude most in keeping with the spirit of the society, but the decision appears to have come too late. For though, in the following April, the secretary of the Jews' school was assured that the children are never compelled to read anything at Borough Road "to which

objection is felt," the Jews' Free School finally severed itself entirely from the central school on grounds of religious instruction, October 1834. This separation, though insignificant in point of view of the numbers involved, is of interest as indicating the great difficulties which the society had to face, and which upon the whole it faced successfully. As time passed other secessions and separations became inevitable, and their story will find a place in the second section of this volume.

In our review of this period there remain two aspects of the society's work which still claim attention. The first refers to Ireland and the second to the English agricultural districts. We have seen how Lancaster interested himself in 1811 in the founding of that Dublin Education Society, which afterwards became known as the Kildare Place Society. We must now give further attention to the development of this important parallel work.

In June 1813, at the instigation of Peel, Parliament had voted them £7000 for their first building. Two years later the Dublin depository for school materials was opened, a grant for £6000 having been received for publishing. From 1817 onwards the amount voted by Parliament for general purposes rose from £10,000 till it reached £30,000. Among its other labours the Kildare Place Society provided a million cheap books for 11,000 school libraries; and in 1824 it was giving financial assistance to 1100 schools. But best of all was the work of training teachers and of inspection carried on by Mr. J. Vevers, who was formerly, as will be remembered, a pupil of Lancaster at Borough Road.

The work of the Irish Society was, however, attacked by O'Connell in 1820, who rallied the priests to oppose the work of the Kildare Place Society, forming an Irish National Education Society to fight it. The result of his action was seen in the appointment of a Royal Commission of Irish Education in 1824, which criticised adversely the fundamental principle of the Bible lesson. Among the regulations of the

society was the recommendation that "the sacred volume be not used as a school book from which the children should be taught to spell or read, but shall be always read with reverence and solemnity as the revealed Word of God, and rather as a privilege and record of proficiency than as a task."¹

But the Commissioners found that the religious recommendations were largely inoperative, being either disliked or misunderstood. They found that no explanation of the meaning of passages read was ever attempted, and that hence the children read without understanding. Their adverse criticism of this part of the Irish Society's work was probably just.

The progress at Kildare Place had been as keenly watched by the British Society as though it had been that of its own labours, instead of an independent movement identical in origin. Singularly enough two of the principal critics of the Irish Society were among those who moved resolutions at the British Society's annual meeting of 1825, when Thomas Spring Rice, M.P., and Daniel O'Connell approved the efforts then being made to forward the cause of education in Greece.

The circumstance did not, however, prevent the London committee in its next annual report offering a protest against the finding of the Commission "that the Scriptures should not be used during school hours," declaring "that they should most earnestly deprecate the adoption of any system of instruction, especially under the sanction of Legislature, in which the reading of the Scriptures did not form a prominent part."² Mr. Spring Rice's select committee reported in 1829, the year of Catholic emancipation, in favour of secular education in Ireland. In 1831 Mr. Stanley, Grey's Irish Secretary, withdrew the government grants from the society, which were thenceforward administered by the National Board.³

¹ H. K. Moore's *An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education*, pp. 140-41.

² Report, 1826, p. 13.

³ By this time the Kildare Place Society had established 1600 schools, and was sending out some 150 masters, and 60 mistresses each year from its training establishment.

In 1833 Mr. Crossley was sent by the British committee to visit the Kildare Place Schools, and was intensely interested in what he saw there. Curiously enough Lord John Russell almost immediately afterwards requested the committee to send out some one to examine the schools under the new Government Commission, but in view of Crossley's visit the committee seems to have declined.

The crisis in Irish education with its resultant national system occurred at a time when the British Society was engrossed in considerations of conditions at home. Stimulated by the example set in Kildare Place, and by a growing interest in education among the English artisans, we find that from the year 1828—when Mr. D. D. Scott became secretary and Mr. Dunn was on his way home—the annual reports are marked by a deepened interest in the condition of the agricultural districts, and efforts are on foot for the formation of county associations and the encouragement of new schools.

The Reform Bill riots of 1830-31 with their scenes of violence naturally accentuated this interest. They revealed the extreme ignorance of the English peasantry in the southern counties. Very few of those arrested for complicity in acts of violence could either read or write. The British School Committee passed resolutions urging the necessity for action, and forwarded them to every member of Parliament; and itself offered assistance in the form of materials and teachers to all new schools in the agricultural districts. The report for 1832 very vigorously declared that "England is yet uneducated." The renewed rioting of the autumn of 1831, and the rejection of the Reform Bill for a second time by the House of Lords in the following May, with Lord Grey's resignation, fully justify its allusions to the excited condition of the people. These need the steady influence of a sound Scriptural education such as it is the society's purpose to give to all the children of the labouring poor. Nor will they any longer be contented with the mere rudiments, once regarded as sufficient. Popular education

must now take wider scope. Better methods of instruction, such as those of Pestalozzi, which were being adopted in the model schools, must be grafted upon the old system.

From such a pronouncement as this, it is evident that the society was taking new heart again. The number of students in training had considerably increased and some forty were being assisted out of the funds. In 1833 help was given to forty-seven new schools in agricultural districts. An inspector was at work in the London district, while Lieutenant Fabian's journeys had resulted in the founding of many new auxiliary societies which made handsome contributions to the society's income.¹

The same spirit prevails in the following report. Education was claimed as the prerogative of every man who lives under the law, in order that he may know its requirements. "Instruction ought to be free as the air we breathe, common as the high road on which our food is conveyed." The teacher is a missionary; if he regards himself merely as a hireling his work will not be merely useless, it will be absolutely pernicious. And, turning to the education of girls, the committee urges that needlework, useful as it is when associated with reading and writing, cannot be regarded as education; the duty of the society is not merely to fit these children for domestic service, but to prepare them for the great vocation of motherhood.

Thus the British Society closes the first quarter of a century of its labours in a spirit full of hope and energy. It had received its impulse from Lancaster who had bequeathed to it the educational improvements he had adopted, in class teaching, in the use of school slates and spelling books, and, in short, in a practicable plan for general education. Place and his friends had suggested invaluable methods of securing better organisation, and of really coming face to face with the whole problem, and Brougham had focussed public attention upon the great field of ignorance in the metropolis. Foreign

¹ 113 auxiliaries in 1834.

claims had been urged, and foreign interest awakened by the work of Allen and others. The burden of debt had been raised. The institution had been rehoused. New methods and higher educational ideals had been introduced through the interchange of ideas with European workers and with the society in Dublin. While all through this period the actual condition of the people was gradually becoming better understood by the men who were working at the same time for Parliamentary reform and popular education. Thus during the first quarter of a century the British Society, having weathered the early storms, became securely established upon foundations sufficiently stable for the commencement of that truly national work which lay before it, and which through the coming years was to absorb its energies.

PART II

THE SECOND QUARTER

(1833-58)

*FROM THE FIRST GOVERNMENT GRANT TO THE
DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S COMMISSION*

CHAPTER VI

STATE AID

First Elementary Education Vote—Conditions of Grants—Share of British Society and its Attitude—Compulsion—Appropriation for State Normal College—Brougham's Bill—Society's Memorial to Lord Russell—Inspectors appointed—The Claims of the British Society—Inspection and Government Aid at Borough Road.

THE second quarter of our "Century of Education" covers a period only less interesting than the first. The work of founding the society is done, the vast field of its enterprises has been explored and its colonies planted; the broad lines of procedure have been defined; now we have to trace its early relations with the state, and the settlement of its attitude towards government aid and government inspection with all the consequences that sprang from that new relationship; we have also to mark the abandonment of the monitorial system, and with this and the acceptance of state aid, the rise of the new normal school and the new type of teacher. Moreover, with the increasing concentration of the society's labours upon the field of England and Wales comes further development in the spirit of solidarity especially among the teachers of schools, whose co-operation together and with the society itself becomes a factor of great importance in the life of the movement.

The early years of the reign of William IV. and of the ministry of Lord Grey from 1830 to 1834 were full of political movement, but 1833 and 1834 are specially noteworthy for a very modest commencement then effected in a national policy of education. We have seen in the last chapter how Brougham's effort at legislative action had failed like that of Whitbread in 1807. Now, in 1833, he publicly repudiated the principle of

compulsion, and declared himself satisfied with the progress of voluntary enterprise, which was certainly considerable. In this, however, he differed from many of his countrymen; notably of Mr. Roebuck, the redoubtable Radical. In July this gentleman moved for a measure to secure universal compulsory education, referring to the systems then being established in France, and already in force in Prussia and Saxony. A full and interesting debate succeeded. And a little later, on August 13, in a small House, the first vote for English elementary education was carried by fifty to twenty-six. The vote was vigorously opposed by William Cobbett and Joseph Hume—by the latter on the ground of inadequacy to the existing need for a truly national system, by the former on that of the mischievous results of education as it was then understood and practised.

The vote was: "That a sum, not exceeding £20,000, be granted to His Majesty to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schoolhouses, for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March, 1834 . . ." ¹ This vote was proposed by Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and defended by Lord John Russell, the hero of the Reform Bill, at this time Postmaster-General, both of them warm friends of the British Society.

The reader cannot but sympathise with Mr. Hume when he recalls the vote of twenty millions made at almost the same time for compensation to the West Indian planters on the emancipation of their slaves. But if it was inadequate, this small grant was calculated to stimulate voluntary effort without alarming the country or raising sectarian issues.²

¹ J. E. G. de Montmorency's *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 240.

² Much might be said even in defence of William Cobbett, and neither in 1833 nor at any subsequent period has public education in this country ever risen quite superior to the criticism of such radical antagonists, who attacked it because they regarded it as actually prejudicial to the character of the people. It tended merely, in their eyes, to produce that "new race of idlers," schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. That allega-

The conditions under which the grants were made required an equal contribution to be raised by voluntary subscribers, and the endorsement of the local building proposals by one of the two national school societies, while the Treasury demanded subsequent reports as to their condition from schools which received assistance. The grants were specially destined, in the first place, to assist education in the larger centres of population. There seems to have been some intention to divide them equally between schools associated with the rival societies; but, as *The Quarterly Journal of Education* at the time foretold, the wealthier and more influential of the two readily obtained the larger share. For since the grants were only made upon the actual raising of at least an equal subscription, it followed inevitably that the wealthier society, that is to say the society which counted the greater number of wealthy adherents and sympathisers, was able to apply at once for the greater number of schools. The Committee of the British Society asked, indeed, for a delay in allotment, and earnestly encouraged their friends throughout the country to make every possible effort, at least a thousand letters being dispatched with this object, and many meetings convened. As a result of these exertions, applications were sent in to the society during the first winter for more than two hundred new buildings, towards whose erection £30,000 was offered. Only about a seventh of these proposals seem, however, to have been approved by the Lords of the Treasury; but the sum of £9500, or very nearly one-half of the vote, was allotted upon them. In the succeeding report the amount had fallen to a third, and in that of 1836 to about a quarter of the total money disposable. So that at the end of five years the British Schools had only

tion is of course unjust: but it may remind us that there has always been ground for the most radical criticism of any national attempt that has hitherto been made in this direction—the criticism that it misses the real object of education and does not tend to produce a nobler and more independent type of national character. Even to-day Cobbett's denunciation of our Education as “doctrinaire” has hardly lost its point.

received £30,000 as against £70,000 granted to those of the National Society.

It seems probable that the changed attitude of the government may have been partially due to the fall in 1834 of Grey's ministry, in which the society counted many friends.

A deputation interviewed Mr. Spring Rice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Peel's cabinet, in August 1835, on this question; but was informed that the allotment must be so made as to bring about the education of the greatest possible number of children for the money granted.¹ The argument of the society was, upon the other hand, that the money should be so allotted as to aid those who were least able to obtain assistance from other sources; and it may be noted that this argument had to be pressed upon succeeding governments for many a year to come, the tendency always being to make grants in such a manner as to secure the most obvious results, and to leave the most difficult part of the problem, that of poor and thinly populated districts, completely untouched.

Attention was focussed upon economy or, one would rather say, upon cheapness in education; the question of its efficiency had not yet arisen on the political horizon. Indeed, educationally, the country was agreed upon next to nothing, and probably the government was well advised in quietly establishing the principle of state aid in its least obnoxious and most obviously effective form, and in marking time till further opportunity occurred for action.

The result, however, could not but be disappointing to educationalists. The British Society, while it approved the principle of state aid, regretted the method of allotment which did little to help the people and districts in the greatest need, or to guarantee the wisest expenditure of the small but precious grants; it saw that it must itself continue steadily to foster the public demand for larger aid and better methods.

¹ Grants were usually made at a rate of ten shillings a place on the accommodation provided, which was not supposed to cost more than £1 per child.

Year by year it continued to keep its principles before the public, asserting the right of the poor to education, the duty of the nation to give them instruction, the wisdom of giving it liberally, and the necessity of basing it upon the Bible.¹ With the passage of the Reform Bill, it realised the arrival of democracy, and "that no power on earth can now place a limit to the legitimate influence of the people."² Without asserting, with the earlier enthusiasts, that school instruction would put an end to sin, crime, and poverty, it maintained that "the imparting of a plain, useful, and scriptural education to the whole community" was necessary alike in the interests of property, morality, and progress.³

As the years passed this voice only became more emphatic. "The children of the poor are in a peculiar sense the children of the public," and to neglect their education is a national crime.⁴ But the passing years seemed to make more and more clear the impossibility of any central state effort; so that the report of 1844 roundly declares that all prospect of such provision has passed away. "It may be . . . intended that England shall afford an example to the nations of a self-educated people," that is to say, of a people educated by voluntary agencies, for a distinction was still quite properly made between the coercive action of a state as yet by no means democratic and the purely attractive offers of voluntary organisation. Lancaster's hatred of coercion as the ugliest word in our vocabulary was very strong and very sound. "The responsibility of educating the people," the report concludes, "henceforward rests upon us."

Again in 1848, though accepting inspection, the committee declared that government ought simply to assist the people to educate themselves, but never to attempt the control of education. Such aid would stimulate without superseding voluntary effort,⁵ as the society's own experience went to prove.

¹ Report, 1836.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1839.

² *Ibid.* 1837.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1851.

³ *Ibid.* 1837.

Yet, during these same years, the need for an extension of government influence was increasingly felt in two directions. The first was in securing the regular attendance of children for a reasonable period; the second in guaranteeing the efficiency of the education given to them.

As to the first we find the following remarkable, prophetic paragraph in the year 1855: "The improvement of schools, as your committee observed in their last report, will certainly tend to increase attendance at them, since it will supply more tangible and practical evidence of the value of education: while the *great question of all*, the right of society to compel parents to provide in some degree for the minds as well as for the bodies of their children, will in due time find its proper solution." The former sense of a duty owed by society to the individual is now supplemented by that of the right of society over the individual. In emphasising this the committee was deliberately justifying its abandonment of a purely voluntarist attitude, and its acceptance of the aid of the magistrate and policeman. This gradual change of position was undoubtedly due to the reports of the society's inspectors, followed in due course by those of the government, which by this time had established beyond question the indifference of parents to such educational opportunities as were being offered. Whether this indifference were not the result of unnatural social conditions, only to be cured by their removal, we need not ask. We have only to observe that it existed, and that it was in itself a grave symptom of social disorder calling for drastic remedies. I may add that it still threateningly remains, postponing the day of the voluntary ideal.

In order rightly to understand the position of the society with regard to greater efficiency, government inspection, and other kindred matters, it will be necessary first of all to pass in review the gradual development of state action during the quarter of a century which followed the vote of 1833. Mr. Roebuck repeated his motion of that year, and in 1834 secured

the appointment of a select committee, before which Mr. Dunn was duly examined on the work of the society. Its inquiry made evident the need for a better provision for the training of teachers, and it was followed by an appropriation of £10,000 intended for that purpose; and by a motion on behalf of the government for the establishment of a central Board of Education.

Both these excellent proposals failed but neither was unfruitful. The motion for a board resulted in the formation, in the spring of 1839, of a Department, and the appointment of that famous educationalist Dr. Kay, afterwards Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, as its secretary. The work of the board, as first outlined by Lord John Russell, was to have included the establishment of a national normal school and the expenditure of the money appropriated for that purpose. But so vigorous was the opposition led by Lord Stanley, who had founded the Irish Board eight years earlier, that the government proposals were reduced during their passage through Parliament and issued merely in the formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education which now administered the grants made hitherto by the Lords of the Treasury, and an increase of £10,000 in the annual educational vote at its disposal.

In the same year, Brougham had brought in a Bill for rate-aided, popularly controlled, non-compulsory, scriptural, elementary education under a central board, but this, like the normal school proposal, was defeated by the National Society and the Established Church. In the following year a working arrangement was reached, by which a government inspector was to be admitted to the National Schools on condition that his appointment had been sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and that his retention in office depended upon the Primate's veto.

Such in rough outline being the story of the principal political changes and discussions of these years, we are now in a position to observe their relation to the British Society.

Without attempting to estimate the extent to which they were directly due to its influence, we shall of course remember that the society was a prime mover in every educational effort, and that its vice-presidents were always among the principal pioneers in legislative reform. At this time it is needless to say that both Lord John Russell and Lord Brougham were the society's vice-presidents and in the closest touch with its committee.

The Bill introduced by the latter seems to have been drafted as early as 1837. It was closely examined and carefully discussed at several special meetings of the committee from July onwards, and as a result was considerably modified before its final introduction. In January 1838 William Allen was deputed to submit the criticism of the committee upon the Bill as then drafted. The society felt that there was grave danger of its giving too much power to a proposed Central Board of Commissioners; and, in accordance with its traditional policy, it urged that the localities should be granted as large a measure of control as possible, appointing and removing teachers, and deciding upon the methods of instruction to be adopted in their schools. They also sought to make the scriptural basis of education in the scheme more explicit. But, as we have seen, Brougham's Bill was lost.

Upon the report of the Education Commission in 1838 the committee recommended that schools should be systematically inspected but not by persons connected with the two national societies. And in April of that year they drew up a notable memorial signed by Allen and submitted by deputation to Lord John Russell on the whole question before the country and Parliament. Herein they set forth a view of national education of an inclusive character, "based on the Scriptures, but positively excluding from all schools aided by Parliament the formularies of any particular church." This was an ultimate ideal.

In the meantime, and until such a system could be estab-

lished, they declared that the first need was for the immediate formation of a Board of Education enjoying the confidence of the various religious denominations of the country. The board should not interfere in religious instruction, and indeed should only interfere at all in so far as to secure efficient secular teaching; it should provide that the Bible-reading be given by the master as a part of the school work, leave of absence being granted by request of parents for Jews and Catholics, and it should also provide that the children of Dissenters be excused from attendance at any catechism, where such was given, as for example in existing national schools.

The memorial expressed a doubt whether such a board could rightly undertake the training of teachers; but suggested that it might properly make grants to teachers who were under instruction, appoint examiners, and require certain examinations to be taken both at the commencement and during the course of such students' training. The board might also publish a list of duly trained students, with the stipulation that all teachers for grant-aided schools should be chosen from such a list.

The memorial proceeded to urge upon the government a vigorous system of inspection "with consent of the parties, but under authority of the board." It concluded by pointing out the temporary character of these proposals, adverting once more to that broad comprehensive view which, when heats and animosities were allayed, must appeal to the nation.

The memorial was duly presented, Lord John Russell assuring the deputation that it should come before the government. Its influence may be clearly traced in the proposals made in the following year by Russell himself, though the government differed from the society on the important issue of the normal colleges. As we have seen, however, it failed to carry this part of its programme. The appointment of inspectors was, however, also carried through successfully, and this was really the most immediately necessary and obvious development of

the principle of state aid. The first proposals of the Treasury had been that the duty of inspecting should be undertaken by the two societies themselves, assisted by an equal grant of £500 each. But against this the British Society vigorously protested, demanding wholly independent inspection. When however the "independent inspection" was offered, it was seen to have its drawbacks.

The National Society, which viewed with suspicion the enthusiastic activity of the new secretary to the Committee of Council, Dr. Kay, demanded and obtained certain terms from the department before it would consent to admit an inspector to its schools. The British Society was compelled to fight for a similar arrangement, and the struggle lasted till 1843, when at last it obtained the full guarantees it had demanded, that the inspector who reported on British schools should be free from any hostile bias against the principles upon which such schools were established and the purpose which they had before them. It may be interesting briefly to record the course of that struggle.

At the committee meeting of September 13, 1839, it became clear that the government would henceforward make the acceptance of the inspector's visits an absolute condition of future grants to school managers. And at the following monthly meeting the society's committee passed a resolution approving the principle "that when public money is granted inspection should be required." But in making this declaration they could hardly forget that everything depended upon the character of this inspection, and especially upon its absolute impartiality. It was precisely this that was at once called in question when the inspector's visits commenced.

A special meeting of the committee, presided over by Allen, was summoned, January 11, 1841, to consider the situation, and it decided that, as a result of the concordat with the Church, this was now entirely changed. There was evidence of an inclination on the part of the inspectors to interfere in school

planning and methods as well as in the choice of masters; and all this with a distinct bias, as was supposed, against the principles of the British Society. The committee felt that the whole system of voluntary effort was in peril; that local committees were being detached from the parent society; and that, for its own part, it must demand terms equivalent to those granted to the National Society and to the Educational Committee of the Church of Scotland, if justice was to be done.

Again, in December a memorial was drawn up by the committee and duly presented to Lord Wharnccliffe, the President of the Council. In this, after reciting its general principles, the society complained that in spite of the Council's promise it had received no copy of the inspector's reports upon British schools, nor of his suggestions as to their discipline and management, such as should have been furnished to it as much as to the National Society. The memorial again urged that the inspector must have the entire confidence of the society, and concluded by "expressing the extreme jealousy with which we view all measures" tending "to centralise educational influence," to "weaken local interest in the welfare and instruction of the poor," or to break the influence of the two national societies.

Two events now added seriously to the anxiety of the committee and its supporters. The first related to the rebuilding of the central establishment, and the proposed government grant for the same. The second was a somewhat adverse report by Mr. Tremenheere, July 1842, on the condition of the British schools in the metropolitan district. This was bitterly resented by Mr. Dunn and the committee, while a growing anxiety as to the scope of government interference, and some genuine distrust of its impartiality, led the committee to hesitate before agreeing to bind themselves and their successors to accept government inspection at Borough Road as a condition of a building grant. They declined to insert a paragraph to this effect in the new trust deeds; and finally induced the Committee of Council to accept a clause by which the society

was entitled to refuse further visits on giving notice that it proposed to repay the government building grant.¹

Regarding Mr. Tremenheere's report, and the somewhat serious influence anticipated from its publication upon the prestige of the society, and also regarding the committee's continued demand for recognition in the appointment of British school inspectors, a series of vigorous letters were addressed by Mr. Dunn to Dr. Kay and the Committee of Council. There can of course be no doubt that much of the instruction in the British, as well as in other elementary schools, was sadly deficient. The committee itself had frequently to lament, not only the indifference of local committees and of the general public and the consequent discouragement of teachers, but also their too frequent inefficiency, and the miserable equipment of the schools. Conscious themselves of shortcomings which were discreetly veiled and only indirectly evidenced in their public reports, one can quite understand the committee's resentment at the inspectorial criticism of these very matters, and one cannot but smile at Mr. Dunn's fervid defence.

But undoubtedly the society was justified in vigorously pressing its demand for an understanding with the Council as to appointments, and this was finally recognised by Lord Wharncliffe in a letter read at the meeting of December 12, 1843, promising that no inspector of British schools should be appointed without the full concurrence of the committee. In acknowledging the Lord President's kindness and trusting that this trouble would now cease, the committee could not but give expression to the widespread alarm occasioned by the attitude of Sir Robert Peel's government, which was calculated to render many local committees unwilling to accept inspection.²

¹ December 20, 1844.

² In this connection it is of interest to note the welcome accorded to Matthew Arnold when concurring in his appointment as inspector of

This declaration of public anxiety was fully justified, as we shall soon have occasion to remark; and for many years to come the marks of the conflict we have been considering remained upon the society itself. For while upon the whole its friends supported it in its struggle against the government, there was a large and influential minority which was unable to support it in accepting the government's aid. Holding to voluntarism pure and simple, they declined any assistance from the state, and upon its acceptance they seceded from the ranks of the society. Hardly had the dispute with Lord Wharncliffe been finally adjusted when this new source of difficulty made itself felt. But in order more fully to understand it, we must now trace the movement which led to the building of the Borough Road Normal School, 1840-42, and the maintenance grant of 1845.

British schools, May 1851; and, five years later, the dispute, occasioned by Arnold's criticisms of British school methods, between Mr. Dunn and the Secretary to the Committee of Council.

CHAPTER VII

1844-62

CONFERENCES AND CONTROVERSIES

The Training of Teachers at Borough Road—Rebuilding, 1840-42—
Short Term of Training—Conference of 1844—Maintenance Grant—
Action of Congregational Union—Special Meeting of 1847—Secession
—Unitarian Case—"Secular" Education.

Notes on the Congregational Board—The Unitarian Controversy—
Carlyle and Cobden.

EVERY movement has at any given time some special person, institution, or department upon whose health and vitality all else seems to depend. And the British School Society is certainly no exception to this general rule. Nor can there be a moment's question as to the central point in all its work during these years. The place held at first by Lancaster had now been taken by that complex person, if one may so style it, known in these pages and to the affections of thousands of men and women as "Borough Road." "Borough Road," the central house of the society, home alike of its normal seminary, its model school,¹ its depository of materials, and its committee,

¹ At the close of the period, *i.e.* during their first sixty years, more than 60,000 children had passed through the Borough Road schools. By a slip in copying, this handsome total, as though it were not yet large enough, is raised in the annual reports by the addition of 23,000; the total number of scholars being confused with the number of boys alone. The figures are correctly given in 1857 as—

Boys	:	:	:	:	:	:	38,053
Girls	:	:	:	:	:	:	22,836
							60,889

In 1858 another 1200 seem to have passed through the schools, and in the next year the total *for the boys' school alone* is recorded as 62,947. The error of course vitiates all the subsequent statistics for the school in the annual reports, but they can be readily corrected by deducting 23,320, the number of girls apparently included in the figures of the 1859 report when the error occurred.

exercised a distinct influence over the whole movement in every place and department, comparable only to that of a powerful personality. And this, of course, was especially marked during the first half century, before the removal of the girls' college and its schools to Stockwell. Indeed, it may be said that during this period, and especially between 1833 and 1858, "Borough Road" was the society, so intimate is the connection between them. It is, then, to Borough Road that we come at every crisis of affairs, and about Borough Road that any new storm will be seen brewing.

Perhaps the most important result of the grants of 1833 was the stimulus which it gave indirectly to the training of teachers. If the government were to aid the provision of buildings the societies must do their part in providing the staff. Hence improvements were at once set on foot at Borough Road, an appeal for a building fund was issued, and a memorial addressed to the Lord Mayor and Corporation. Already in May 1834, the annual report tells of a large increase in students, whose number now rose to nearly 100 in the year, the young men being under the care of Mr. Wallbridge. This seems to mark the beginning of the new movement. During the last quarter of a century the average annual number of students had not exceeded forty, about a thousand having been "trained," or at least having passed, in too rapid succession, some ten at a time, through the institution. Now under Mr. Wallbridge, Dr. Cornwell his successor, and Mrs. MacRae the work developed quickly on both sides of the house.

But it was in consequence of the government appropriation of £10,000 for a normal school as a result of circumstances described in the last chapter that a much greater effort came to be made. In July 1838, a message was received from the Treasury suggesting the establishment of model schools in which teachers should be trained by the two great societies. And a year later, on the final decision of the government ¹ to

¹ June 3, 1839.

divide the appropriation equally between them, the British School Society promptly decided to raise £20,000 and £3000 a year for the building and maintaining of an efficient and adequate normal school. This was duly endorsed on a resolution moved by Lord Brougham at a special meeting of the society and its friends held on July 30 under the presidency of one of its earliest supporters, the Duke of Sussex, at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's. Sites were then discussed, but the advantages of the old situation with its model schools prevailed.¹ An extension of lease was obtained from the Corporation, the centre of the house was pulled down and remodelled, while a second story was added above each wing. The extensions included a lecture theatre, library, museum, class-room, and studies and sleeping accommodation for forty students, and officers' rooms. The new buildings were opened by Lord John Russell on June 29, 1842, just a quarter of a century after the opening of the earlier building by the Duke of Sussex. When completed they seem to have been capable on occasion of accommodating as many as 100 students altogether,² 63 on the men's and 37 on the women's side.

The men's training department was now thoroughly reorganised and divided into two sections, the upper under Mr. Cornwell, the lower under Mr. Saunders, while the course of instruction is described in the report for 1844 as "now enlarged and complete." On the other side of the house, Mrs. MacRae remained in charge, though from July 1843 she appears to have boarded out.³

The extension of its college premises and curriculum did comparatively little however to improve the quality of the actual training, for even with the ablest principal in the world it was impossible to change the raw student into a school-master or mistress in a three months' course. He might be

¹ January 28, 1840.

² 99 were in training April 1, 1844; and 100 three years later.

³ Her salary was now £150 a year. At the beginning of 1846, the salaries of Messrs. Cornwell and Saunders were £200 and £170 respectively.

kept incessantly at work from "five in the morning till nine or ten at night" as Mr. Dunn had informed the select committee in 1834; he might be put in succession to each department of the school from the lowest up to the highest—but it was quite impossible that in so short a space of time he could obtain more than a mere introduction to the art of teaching and some smattering of all that useful information without which he had doubtless been left by his own inadequate elementary education. None were more conscious of the evil results of this system than the members of the committee who were constantly urging the need for a two years' training in place of the term of three months.¹

Yet even under these circumstances the British school teacher was still among the best of his class. The ignorance of the average provincial teacher at that time is now almost incredible, and even then was not readily believed. But unimpeachable evidence was being given of his, and especially of her, shortcomings which the public could not quietly ignore. Thus, in January 1839, Mr. Leonard Horner, reporting on the educational provision made under the Factory Acts, declared that it was not all an unusual thing to find certificates of attendance signed by the quite illiterate teacher with his or her *mark*. Further reports, such as that of Mr. Moseley in 1845, made it clear that out of the children who attended school, only a small proportion received anything like efficient instruction in the "three R's," hardly one in fifty had reached the rule of three, and half the scholars left school unable to read at all. This reflected little credit upon any of the persons concerned—committees, parents, or teachers—and it would hardly be fair to lay the largest share of blame upon the teachers.

In the following May the committee, reviewing the work of its training department which had been attended by 324 students during the twelve months, referred once more to the

¹ e.g. Report for 1836.

inadequacy of the time devoted to their instruction, lamenting that "circumstances beyond their control forbid, for the present, any hope that this period can, as a general rule, be materially lengthened." It was an economic problem, and the prizes of the profession simply did not exist. "Nothing but the love of learning, the love of children, and the love of doing good remain as inducements to adopt or to retain the office of a teacher." The report of her Majesty's inspector of British schools showed that a head master's salary was upon the average less than £70, and that of a mistress less than £40.

While these conditions prevailed the society could only continue to select such "persons of mature age, of energy, and of piety" as might devote themselves to this arduous and ungrateful calling, assisting them to their utmost ability. But they made a special offer of free board and instruction to any young men who would remain after six months to complete a course of one year's instruction in the house. It is doubtful whether the offer produced any immediate results. In order to obtain the same end, they then proposed (1847) to establish branch normal schools, partly for "preliminary instruction" and partly to relieve the pressure, both on the capacity of the central establishment and on the students there, who were so eagerly sought after, before even their short term was completed, to fill existing vacancies. By this means it was hoped that "the long desired retention of the candidates [students] for a greater period of time than either six or twelve months might at length be secured."¹ The average period of instruction seems to have still been only between three and four months; but the proportion of men remaining for a longer period was slowly increasing.

By this time, however, large changes were being set on foot by the Committee of Council, which were to revolutionise the training of teachers and provide means for retaining them at college. Before we discuss these it is necessary to return

¹ 1848.

and take up the thread of the last chapter, dealing first with Graham's Bill and then with certain results which followed from the British Society's acceptance of government aid for its proposed new normal schools.

When Sir James Graham went to the Home Office in Peel's Administration of 1841-46, he became occupied at once with the educational problem. On October 21, Brougham wrote to him anticipating that Peel's government would favour the Established Church, "but I am fully prepared," he added, "to take a scheme notwithstanding such drawback; and so I believe are all real friends of education with the exception of those who hate the Established Church and love their sects more than they love education—a class of most worthy and most conscientious men, who have done incalculable service hitherto, but whose honest scruples prevent them doing more now." His only hope was in "a general parish plan, permissive if you will."

On his side, Graham saw that any national scheme must be religious, but could neither be compulsory nor yet be drawn upon Anglican lines. "Religion, the keystone of education, is in this country," he opines, "the bar to its progress."¹ His hope lay in a gradual extension of the power and pecuniary means of the Committee of Council, and this, as events proved, was the only safe line of advance.

The condition of the country was very serious; these were the days of the anti-corn law riots; and in 1843, Lord Ashley, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, moved his address begging the queen "to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefit and blessings of a moral education among the working classes of her people." In response, Graham brought in his Bill, which attempted at the same time to limit hours of labour for women and children, and to secure general education. The certificates of school attendance required of children employed in industry were

¹ *Life of Sir James Graham*, 1907, vol. i. p. 339.

only to be valid when issued by schools fulfilling certain conditions, the first having regard to inspection, and the second to religious instruction. The Bill went to pieces upon the last issue. Graham had already recognised how difficult was his assumed task of upholding "the just authority of the Church" while respecting "the honest scruples of Dissenters." And this difficulty was increased by the rise of Puseyism, following the Tractarian movement of Newman, the accentuation of sectarian feeling in the Church of England, and especially with regard to education, and a corresponding, opposing, activity in the Wesleyan and other churches.

Graham's effort failed, as he had foreseen it must; and he wrote to Lord Ashley, on withdrawing the education clauses of his Factory Bill, that united education was an impossibility. "It ought never again to be attempted."

The Bill had been vigorously opposed by the British School Society on several grounds: because it was largely compulsory without being comprehensive; because it did not give popular control though requiring rate aid; because it perpetuated "civil disability for religious opinions" by practically excluding Dissenters from the teaching profession; because it did not properly secure the "rights of conscience"; and because it threatened the existence of British schools without providing "any satisfactory guarantee for the general education of the labouring classes."¹ The resolutions were duly submitted to the House by Lord John Russell and the Bill was soon afterwards withdrawn.

With regard to the new relations between the society and the government in respect of its college we must first briefly consider the financial situation.

The additions to the central establishment in 1840-42 had doubled the accommodation for students, and had, of course, added largely to the society's financial responsibility, since every new student meant a new burden on its funds. It had

¹ Minutes of a special meeting, March 25, 1843.

been estimated that at least £3000 a year would be required in order to meet these new claims, and efforts were at once set on foot to raise this amount. It would appear from the balance sheet of the society that its income in 1838 to 1840, omitting the sales from the depository as being balanced by purchases and grants, amounted to about £4000. This rose to £7000 in 1843, and in the next year, swelled by special donations, it rose to more than £11,000, to subside again to about £7000 in 1847. The efforts may therefore be fairly described as successful.

Turning to the training college itself, we find that the estimated increase in expenditure was fortunately not realised. For while the expenses of the normal school rose from £1150 in 1843 to £2800 in the next year and £3000 in 1845-47, the payments of the students rose from £170 to about £1200, so that the additional loss upon the venture was not more than about £800; and this was now practically covered by an unconditional maintenance grant for the training college from the Council of Education of £750, the first payment being made in 1845.¹

It was upon the acceptance by the committee of this grant that a secession took place.

Towards the close of 1843 the Educational Committee of the Congregational Union² had asked the society to send a deputation to a conference at Leeds, and further proposals for joint action in reference to government aid were made on behalf of the union at the end of February. Then followed the educational conference of March 14 and 15, 1844, convened by the British School Society, and held in the large lecture room at Borough Road. This was attended by 150 persons, members and friends of the society and representatives of the Educational Committee of the Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, and the Wesleyan Educational Committee.

¹ £1500 for two years, 1844-45.

² See Note at end of chapter.

The purpose of the conference was one of mutual deliberation, and it was occasioned by certain circumstances, of which the most important were the defeat of Sir James Graham's Factories Education Bill and the decision of the government to attempt no further general legislation on the subject; and, in consequence, the raising of funds for extended efforts by the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Congregationalists.

In the discussions upon denominational as opposed to unsectarian religious instruction, it became evident that certain Congregationalists, feeling the menace of the able sectarian education given in the Church of England training colleges, had been unable to resist the desire to counteract this by rebutting action. They also felt that a new enthusiasm would be aroused if an appeal was made to support definitely Congregational education, even though the schools themselves should be established on the principles of the society; and they argued that such enthusiasm would aid rather than cripple the British Society's work. The union had expressed by resolution its warm attachment to the society, and had urged its more effective support by the Congregational churches.

But the crux of the situation really lay in the consideration of the society's future attitude towards government aid and inspection. This was admirably introduced by a clear and frank statement of the action of the committee in the past, the present dilemma, and the line which the committee proposed to follow.

The acceptance of an annual grant from the government towards current expenses, under any circumstances, was the point at issue. Should they accept such aid while securing full guarantees for the society's independence and liberty? To refuse it would be a very grave responsibility, and would probably involve ultimate inefficiency; to accept, without at the same time receiving assurance of corresponding continued voluntary support, would be to yield their liberty and independence; under such conditions all schools would inevitably

become of one type, and education be altogether centralised. The committee therefore urged that safety lay not in rejecting government aid, a solution which could not be regarded as a final one, but in such energetic co-operation among the society's friends and supporters as would guarantee it against undue influence or usurpation.

Many influential persons argued vigorously against the intervention in educational affairs of a government bound up as it was with the Established Church. Among others, the feeling of Lord Morpeth ¹ prevailed, that some share in education was becoming a part of the duties of government; that such a duty should be undertaken in the most catholic and comprehensive spirit; and that, if the British Society withdrew from co-operation with the state, government aid must be given exclusively to the denominational schools of the National Society.

No vote was taken upon the matter which was left in the hands of the committee. But a final resolution was unanimously adopted recognising that, in view of the public jealousy of state education, the duty was laid upon Christians of every denomination to make special efforts for voluntary work. It also approved an extended system of inspection to be undertaken by the society. A perusal of the report of this conference convinces the reader that the division of feeling must have been already very strongly felt and freely expressed.

It was at the beginning of the next year that the committee agreed to accept the proffered grant of £750 a year for Borough Road. It will be observed that no conditions were attached to this grant. The acceptance was duly reported at the annual meeting on May 3, and on the 12th the Congregational Board of Education, with Mr. Samuel Morley in the chair, carried a resolution that it "regrets and cannot be reconciled to" the action of the British Society.

A previous resolution (December 1843) was quoted utterly

¹ Afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

repudiating, on grounds of Scripture and conscience, the receipt of money raised by taxes for religious education; and the Board now urged that funds from the Congregational churches should only be directed to purely voluntary schools. This was duly communicated to the society.

Again in July, under the chairmanship of Mr. C. Hindley, M.P., a member of the society's own committee, a further meeting of the Board was held, and its regret again communicated to the society. As the Congregational Board had up to this time induced its supporters to contribute very handsomely to the society's funds, to the extent of nearly £2000, the alienation appears sufficiently serious even upon merely financial grounds.

The crisis came in 1847. In the preceding autumn,¹ the Committee of Council had issued a minute containing proposals for increased inspection, but also declaring their intention to make grants toward the payment of pupil-teachers, provided that they approved the head master of the school in which they might be apprenticed and engaged, and that the school itself was regarded by their inspector as efficient. These proposals, which were further defined and explained in the minute of December 1846, represented, of course, a great extension of the principle of state interference, and led inevitably to bitter criticism and opposition.

The first immediate result upon the society, however, was greatly to stimulate its activity in providing for the training of teachers. The committee resolved at once to increase the number of their training colleges, by establishing four in the provinces, and thus to relieve the pressure at the central establishment. Premises for the first of these were immediately sought for in Bristol.

But another result quickly followed. At the meeting of April 16, 1847, it was announced that twenty-six subscribers had requisitioned a special general meeting to consider the

¹ August 25.

government's proposals, while further requisitions were being made from Bristol, Birmingham, and Sheffield. The committee declined to hold such a meeting till its annual business should first have been transacted. It then resolved to meet the malcontents, and subsequently to call the meeting they demanded, for life governors and members. This was held forthwith on June 1, and attended by about 270 persons. The introductory paper, after covering once more the ground traversed in the conference three years before, asked for a mandate on the question of government aid. It did not raise the other questions involved in the recent Minutes, though these had certainly increased public anxiety on the receipt of such aid.

The discussion, which was anticipated with no little concern, was opened by a resolution proposed by Rev. John Burnet and Mr. G. W. Alexander, both active Congregationalists, the former a member of the general committee and the latter an ex-member, which, after referring to divergence of opinion without and within the British Society, declared for employing "only those [voluntary] resources by which its operations were so long solely sustained, and the use of which its constituents can universally approve." An amendment, however, was carried by a large majority. This was proposed by the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington and the Right Hon. Lord Montague, both of them life governors, and ran as follows:—"That this meeting, approving the course hitherto adopted by the committee in reference to government aid, and relying on their expressed determination to maintain the principles and independence of the society unimpaired, deems it best for the interests of the institution to confide to the discretion of the committee the acceptance or rejection of any further aid which the state may be willing to offer."

The very fact that the meeting had been called and the committee itself stood divided on the crucial point had given cause for the gravest anxiety, and the vote which over-ruled the

opposition, who sympathised with the Congregational Board, was followed by the secession of many influential supporters, and a consequent decline in the society's revenue.¹

In later years many of the seceders returned to occupy positions of honour in the society, and to regret their desertion upon grounds which time had proved to be untenable; among these were Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Baines and Mr. Samuel Morley.

At almost the same moment that the committee was being challenged and sustained in its action upon government aid, it was again challenged in another quarter and on another issue. At the meeting² which followed the conference described above, a letter was presented from the solicitors to the Unitarian Association, accompanying a draft of a case against the committee, seeking to prove a change in policy, and a consequent misapplication of trust-money, which it was proposed to lay for opinion before the Attorney-General. In response the secretary replied that he had "no reason to believe the original principles and rules of the society have ever been departed from." But the matter was not to be so quickly dismissed. In 1848, twenty-seven gentlemen having formed themselves into a Unitarian committee for "maintaining the original principles of the British and Foreign School Society," the situation seemed more serious; it became necessary to obtain evidence, and the written statements of Pickton, Crossley, and Mrs. MacRae are duly entered on the minutes. These three old servants of the society still in harness³ had each of them known its practices and traditions from the very beginning, having become Lancaster's pupils in the years 1803, 1805, and 1806. They belonged to three different denomina-

¹ Including a loss of £100 in annual subscriptions, of another £100 from auxiliaries, and a much larger falling off in donations, amounting to perhaps £1500 a year. But at the same time the society by good fortune received considerable benefit from legacies, especially that of W. Rowlett which yielded £1300 in 1847.

² June 18, 1847.

³ Pickton was now in charge of the depository.

tions, but affirmed unhesitatingly that there had been no change in the religious teaching of the central schools during the past forty-five years, and that the teaching of the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity, had been habitual from Lancaster's time to that day. In refutation of the Unitarian charges, Mr. Dunn also issued "a letter to James Heywood, Esq., M.P.," which was printed for private circulation, and dated January 20, 1848.¹

The opinion of the Attorney-General and his colleague on the case presented to them ran that "assuming that doctrinal tests are now applied to the teachers, or that doctrinal distinctions are now introduced and taught in the school [at Borough Road] either by explanations of, or commentaries on, the Scriptures, or otherwise, we are of opinion that the present administration of the funds of the society is a breach of trust." Remedy was to be sought by any aggrieved parties through an application in Chancery.

In the following June, a further case having been presented, which included the statements in defence of the society made in Dunn's "Letter to Mr. Heywood," the same legal opinion was again sought and given that "on the whole . . . the present administration . . . as disclosed in Mr. Dunn's pamphlet, is a breach of trust." It will be understood that this was purely a legal opinion upon one-sided evidence, and in no sense a judgment.

A friendly conference was then proposed by the Unitarians. But this was declined by the committee on the legitimate grounds that there could be no just reason for complaint since its action had not varied.²

In May 1849, Lord Monteagle and Dr. Lushington, who had proposed the successful amendment at the special meeting on

¹ See Note at end of chapter.

² Apparently there was some anxiety lest the Unitarian dissentients should demand public discussion at the annual meeting, and from this time the actual business was conducted at the society's house, the Exeter Hall Meeting being simply a function calculated to advertise the work of the society, which after 1850 was abandoned altogether.

Government Aid, sent a message to the committee expressing a fear that there had been some deviation from the society's original principles. The committee invited them to meet it and confer upon the matter, assuring them, however, that their anxiety was groundless.

Three years later, the secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association asked the committee to accept the offer of these two gentlemen to act as arbitrators in their dispute. The request could not but be declined; the committee, however, expressed its willingness to meet them for information though not for consultation. A little later they informed Dr. Lushington that they "cannot in accordance with the constitution directly or indirectly recognise any peculiar opinions which may be entertained by any portion of their supporters." An interview between the secretary and the two gentlemen seems on the whole to have satisfied the latter.¹

Six months later the controversy took on a more painful form, when Lord Brougham, still a vice-president, attacked the society in the House of Lords for having shut its doors against Unitarians, and deprived "them of its benefits by requiring the acceptance of religious dogmas to which they cannot assent." This ill-considered attack may be supposed to refer not so much to the school as to the training college at Borough Road.

In later years—1857-62—the discussion found its way into the annual meeting, principally by means of a protest against the sale of certain works at the society's depository, but also by an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Unitarians to secure representation on the committee. A somewhat severe rejoinder was finally published in the annual report to a letter to subscribers, which had been issued by twenty-five members of the society, with regard to the former difficulty; in which further criticism of the depository was declared to be "vexatious" and "prejudicial," and the threat of calling a special general

¹ *Christian Reformer*, October 1854, pp. 591-92.

meeting was held over the petitioners. Curiously enough, this threat, which might easily have stimulated the controversy, seems to have ended it.

The whole discussion is painfully interesting, since it illustrates the extreme delicacy of the task upon which the society was engaged. It must be remembered that the quarrel was not between those who stood for secular as against religious education. The purpose of the Unitarian protest is thus described in a "Reply" to Mr. Dunn, written by Mr. Armstrong in 1856: "The institution they *do* desire is one in which all Christian professors would 'stand on an equal footing'; where schools should be provided in which the children of our poor 'might be made conversant with the Bible text, and thereby brought under the benign influence of its general spirit; but in respect of the inculcation of any particular and controverted views of the doctrines of Christianity, should be left altogether unprejudiced, to the teachings of their respective cottage homes, their respective Sunday schools, and their respective places of public worship.'" ¹ This assuredly was equally the purpose of the committee.

It may be interesting to set forth here some extracts from the declarations on religious education made at this period by friends of the society upon its platform and quoted in its reports. Speaking in 1843 the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel said: "In schools, all the religion that is needed, to make a creature wise for eternity, and happy for time, preparing him to fulfil his duty to his Creator, his neighbour, and his family, may be taught where denominational instruction is excluded." And eleven years later, when the movement in favour of secular education was assuming more considerable proportions, Lord John Russell pointed out how it was as the result of sectarian quarrels that "too many friends of education have concluded that the only mode that can be considered national, and that can unite opinions, is to give only secular instruction, and

¹ Quoted from the rules of the Halsted British Schools, Essex.

leave religious instruction to be given by the ministers of religion." And he continued: "I own that to me, looking at this as a practical question, innumerable difficulties rise up against the adoption of such a proposition. In the first place, I could not but be struck with the answer of one of the boys at the examination to-day, when he was asked for what purpose the Holy Scriptures were given to mankind, and he answered, 'To be the guide of our conduct in life.' Well, now, what an imperfect—what a lame system must that be which proposes, either by state assistance or voluntary effort, to educate the great body of the people of this country, and yet leaves out the knowledge of that which is to guide our conduct in life! Can any omission be more unwise or more fatal to the object we have in view? The children who receive only secular instruction will conclude most naturally that they have the sum and substance of that which is most necessary for them. That they might attend religious instruction elsewhere is no doubt possible; but, when you consider the time that is taken up at school, and the occupations of the various ministers of religion, you will see that it is hardly possible in practice that in one place children should receive an adequate secular instruction, and that in another place they should find a minister of religion capable of giving them the whole of the instruction which is required for their religious education. If that is the case, and if it is as important that their conduct in life should be regulated, will you give them moral instruction apart from the Bible—apart from any religious sanction? That, again, appears to me to be an equally unwise and an equally fatal course; because if these precepts of morality—these rules for the guidance of their conduct, have a divine sanction, it ought to be revealed to them, and the Counsel of God should not be withheld. I should be sorry to think that such a mistake should be made by those who are educated as to think either that their education was complete without religious instruction or that religious instruction was something separate and pro-

fessional, belonging only to certain persons who were endowed by the state, or were ministers of dissenting communions and were alone enabled to deal with the matter of religion. I have always contended that this matter of religion is secular as well as religious; that it belongs to us all; that it pervades the whole business of life; and is, in fact, one of those things which ought to be reckoned among the common things of which every household ought to partake.”¹

We have seen that the Unitarian demand was not for secular, but, as they held, for a more strictly unsectarian instruction. Passing reference must be made here to the rise of what was then known as “secular education,” under the auspices of “the Central Society for Education,” with which, in 1837, we find the British Society in conflict. Ten years later the Lancashire (afterwards the National) Public School Association was formed and supported by Messrs. Cobden, W. E. Forster, Milner Gibson, Roebuck, and others, for the purpose of establishing thoroughly comprehensive public free schools.²

This was opposed by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth’s Manchester and Salford Committee, which advocated Bible reading on the one hand and a conscience clause on the other. Both bodies brought Bills before Parliament in 1852, but neither was successful even though their sympathisers repeated the attempt. In the midst of the struggle, however, certain minor but important educational improvements were effected, while the whole condition of education was once more brought under investigation at the close of the period by the Duke of Newcastle’s Commission of 1858.

¹ Report, 1865, p. 16.

² See note 3 at end of chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

I.—THE CONGREGATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

This was established on December 13, 1843, with Mr. Samuel Morley as treasurer and Mr. Hindley, M.P., chairman; subsequently the Rev. R. Ainslie was made secretary. Its fundamental idea seems to have been that, since the education given by the Congregational Churches must necessarily be religious, no money could be received from government for it. The central committee was denominational in constitution, but wished its schools to be undenominational. In 1845 it joined in summoning a conference at Llandovery with the result that Brecon Normal College was established. At first the Board sent students to Borough Road; but about 1846-48 it opened establishments of its own for women at Rotherhithe, and for men in Liverpool Street, Finsbury Circus, under the Rev. W. J. Unwin. The students were transferred to Homerton in 1851. A large sum of money (more than £120,000) was raised during these years for building schoolhouses. Important conferences were held at Derby, December 1847, and Leicester in the following October. On the latter occasion it was resolved to urge that "the friends of education should give to the system of state interference that steady and vigorous opposition which its injustice, oppression, and practical sectarianism demand at our hands." (See *Congregational Calendar* and *Year Books*, 1845-48, etc.)

2.—THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY

The following additional particulars may here be inserted:—

In 1838, Mr. Dunn had made his position clear, when discussing the problems of national education in relation to Brougham's Bill, by emphatically denying any sympathy with compulsory Scripture reading. He could not conceive that Bible reading could be against the conscience of Unitarian or Catholic, but he would never "require the child of either to read the authorised version as the price of its educa-

tion."¹ If the parent objected, whatever be the ground of objection, his scruples ought to be regarded. But he had reasonably argued that since "the Legislature of a Christian country must of necessity assume the truth of Christianity," the state ought to recognise the reading of the Bible in all its schools.

The Unitarian difficulty seems to have arisen at a very early date, under the secretaryship of Mr. Fox. In 1811, men like Professor (afterwards Bishop) Herbert Marsh had used the inclusion of Unitarians on its committee and the evasions of doctrinal matters, which he declared were usual in the Bible lessons, as arguments against the society. In reply, and I suspect without full consultation with the committee,² Fox set forward his own earnest but markedly Calvinistic views as those of the society itself.

The matter was brought up again in 1834 when Mr. Wood, who became in 1848 secretary of the aggressive Unitarian Committee, gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Education, complaining of the manner in which certain doctrines were taught at the Borough Road Schools. And again, in 1839, when, as a result of Mr. Wood's remarks, an attack had been made upon the society by a Cheltenham clergyman,³ the committee gave offence to Unitarians by their declaration, through Mr. Dunn, that the society "has never in a single instance compromised in any school or schools under its control, or reaping benefits from its funds, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, or any of those great fundamental truths on which our common Christianity is based." One cannot but feel that this was an unfortunate answer; for it seems at once to predicate the necessity for some sort of creed, much as did the clerical party on the London School Board fifty years later.

This had been followed by a somewhat stringent catechising of the Borough Road children on May 3, at the annual

¹ *National Education, the Question of Questions*, etc., by Henry Dunn. Second Ed., 1838, pp. 34-41.

² It will be remembered that Place left the committee owing to the manner in which, as he said, Fox refused to bring his actions under its jurisdiction.

³ The Rev. Francis Close, who afterwards became a supporter of the society.

examination, presided over by the Bishop of Norwich, one of the vice-presidents. Bishop Stanley seems to have "rigidly questioned the children on the person, the work, the divinity, and atonement of the blessed Saviour," and in so doing there can be little doubt that he crossed the threshold of religious education and entered the regions of doctrinal debate.

Further difficulties arose on account of the training of teachers, and the importance attached by the committee to the holding of "decided views in religion." Thus in June 1842 we find that proposals had been printed by the Unitarians for establishing a normal school of their own.

In the House of Commons, July 1846, Dr. Bowring, apparently in consequence of difficulties arising between the committee and one of the affiliated societies, animadverted upon the religious instruction given with the consent of the committee in British schools. Mr. Dunn replied in *The Patriot* for July 23,¹ and a rejoinder in pamphlet form was issued by Mr. Armstrong of Bristol on behalf of the Unitarians early in the following year.

Mr. Armstrong's rejoinder took the form of an attack upon practices, which he and his friends condemned as innovations in regard to the teaching of doctrines. As to the original principle of neutrality in such matters he declares: "We confess we as yet see no sufficient grounds for relinquishing, in favour of any more modern plan, the pure and simple principles of the British and Foreign School Society; which, with suitable modifications to meet exceptional cases (as in relation to Roman Catholics and Jews, etc.), would after all be found, we doubt not, the best entitled to the merit of offering 'universal education on liberal principles.' All it wants is honest and liberal working to bring it into harmony with the most advanced theories which have yet been advocated by the friends of national and comprehensive education. In the hopes of assisting in some small manner to so good an end this refutation of views, essentially at variance with its spirit and subversive of its rules, has been undertaken."

Mr. Armstrong and his friends were unfortunately under an impression that Unitarian children attending British schools were subjected, in some quarters at least, to teaching

¹ H. Dunn, *The Unitarian Attack*, 1857.

which was offensive to their parents from its doctrinal character; and that, by certain influential members of the society, Unitarians were regarded as unsuitable persons to share in the control of its affairs.

But it must be recognised, in fairness to the committee and to Mr. Dunn, that the Unitarian complaint was raised against methods of teaching long established and hitherto hardly challenged. Indeed, Mr. Armstrong's friends were probably the real innovators. This is not to say they were in the wrong. I think their protest was timely and, upon the whole, useful; and that it awakened the society to a renewed caution in regard to doctrinal teaching. Later experience has proved that, without attempting to accommodate itself to the merely Unitarian standpoint, the true work of the society has lain in the direction of practical and not of metaphysical Christian teaching. And on reviewing the situation in the forties, it becomes clear that, probably as a result of increased denominational feeling in all parts of the country, especially in relation to education, there were a number of regrettable incidents at Hull, Bristol, Liverpool, and elsewhere. It was in 1846 that the Unitarian Association appointed a special committee to consider what steps ought to be taken, and its case was stated and high legal opinion obtained in 1847.

3.—CARLYLE AND COBDEN

The best feeling of England in 1839 is probably expressed in the last chapter of Carlyle's *Chartism*, with its magnificent denunciation of the word "impossible" as applied to the social problem of the time. Looking out upon that, Carlyle beheld two main lines of amelioration—and the first lay in universal education. The passage is too long to be quoted, and too splendid to be cut to pieces; its influence may be clearly seen in the work of such men as Cobden and Forster.

It is important to recall the precise declarations of Cobden. Speaking at Manchester to the supporters of the National Public School Association, on December 1, 1851, he quoted a declaration of his own:—"Everybody will remember that I took my stand against the exclusion of the Bible from any schools when we were settling our points of faith as a secular

association. I said, 'I never will be a party to any scheme that attempts to lay down in an Act of Parliament this monstrous, arrogant, and dictatorial doctrine—that a parish or community shall not, if it please, introduce the Bible into its schools,' but, at the same time, I am just as prepared to take my stand against any system which levies taxes upon Jews and Roman Catholics, which calls upon them to contribute to the school-rate, and then inserts a clause like that which says they and their children shall enjoy no advantage from these schools." He continued: "I am for the education of the people. I believe the great mass of the people take less interest in the sectarian squabbling than many others of us are apt to imagine. The great mass of the people want education for their children; they are sick to death of these obstacles you throw in their way." And he prophesied that an extended franchise would quickly prove this.

On another occasion he had said in the same city (January 22, 1851): "I do not want to have my Bible read in the schools, *because, if so, the children of sixty thousand people here must go uneducated.*"

In his speech in the House of Commons, May 22, 1851, he had earnestly advocated the rule that "no book shall be admitted into the common school which favours the peculiar doctrines of any Christian sect." Where there were no Roman Catholics let the Bible be read "without note or comment"; but the feelings of the Catholics must be respected.¹

¹ *Cobden's Speeches*, vol. ii.; see also F. Seebohm, *Contemporary Review*, February 1872.

CHAPTER VIII

A PERIOD OF CHANGE (1833-58)

A Period of Change—Personal Changes—Reading Lessons—"Simultaneous Teaching"—The Society and its Teachers—Pupil-Teachers at Borough Road—Work in Wales—Bangor College—Foreign Work in Europe—The West Indies—Australia—Other Parts.
Note on Lord John Russell.

QUESTIONS arising out of the acceptance of government aid, and the delicate duty of maintaining a scriptural education on unsectarian principles, occupied much of the society's attention during the second quarter of a century of its history, and they have naturally required our consideration during the last two chapters. But they leave much that is of interest and importance unrelated. At home those years were full of extended activity in school building, supply, and inspection, as well as in the improvement of educational methods. There were drastic changes at the model schools, more slowly imitated throughout the provinces. The curriculum was enriched by the teaching of science and music. The old Scripture reading lessons gave place to reading books of more general information, which were forthwith supplied to all parts from the society's depository. The great barn-like buildings belonging to the monitorial system were broken up into class-rooms; and the monitor was gradually displaced by the pupil-teacher and assistant master.

Thanks to summer schools for teachers at Borough Road, and to the British School Teachers' Association, an *esprit de corps* and sense of membership in a corporate life began to make itself felt among the teachers themselves. This on the

one hand was encouraged by the society, and on the other became a source of strength to it. The same spirit of solidarity was fostered by the labours of the society's inspectorate, which after 1843, with larger financial resources, were extended to embrace the whole of England and Wales, doing much to encourage the often isolated workers in the provinces to raise the standard in their schools, and to supply by timely grants from the central depository the most urgent of their needs.

The period was also rich in the founding of schools, especially in the provinces and notably after 1843 in Wales, where in the next fifteen years some two hundred British schools appear to have been opened; while, at the close of this period, a commencement was made in the training of teachers at Bangor. Even with all these efforts the schools of the British Society never of course compared in number with those of the National Society; in 1858 it was estimated that of the children attending state-aided schools only 10 per cent. were to be found in those of the older society. This, however, is hardly a fair standard of comparison, as the National Society had never entertained that objection to state aid which long prevented many of the British schools from following the example of the central committee.

Upon the foreign side this period is full of interest, though with the death of William Allen in 1843, the great increase in educational labours at home, and the rise of national authorities abroad to work out their own problems, this represents a smaller and smaller proportion of the committee's work in each succeeding decade. The emancipation of the West Indian negroes in 1833, and the growth of the Australian settlements, brought many an urgent demand for assistance, to which the committee responded according to its means.

Again, the period was marked by inevitable personal changes. The death of Wilberforce at its commencement, following hard upon the triumph of that cause which was so near to his heart, removed one of the most striking figures



Chadwick

By kind permission of Lady Agatha Russell.

from among the society's vice-presidents, though one, it must candidly be added, who rarely seemed in unity with its work. Greater losses were those of Joseph Foster in 1835, the Duke of Bedford in 1839, the Duke of Sussex, Corston, and Allen in 1843-44, of John Pickton in 1849, and Samuel Gurney, who worthily succeeded Allen as treasurer, in 1856. We have already referred to Lancaster's decease in 1838.

Meanwhile, also, there were important changes from resignation and appointment. At the normal school, Mr. (now Dr.) Cornwell retired after twenty years' service in 1855, and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joshua Fitch. Mr. Crossley, of whom there is a remarkable portrait at Isleworth, resigned from the model school, and in 1851 was followed by Mr. Langton. Mr. Althans, the first inspector, withdrew after long service in 1855, and next year Mr. Dunn gave up the secretaryship and took his seat on the committee.

With all these changes, however, others remained to continue in their persons the links with the earliest days. Among such were the Duchess of Kent, who was still the patroness of the society; and Mrs. MacRae. Others again like Lord John Russell,¹ Robert Forster, and Mr. Dunn, to mention only three of the society's most active and able members, carried far over into the next period the traditions inherited by this.

And in this review of men whose names are recorded in our story we must not forget the new while enumerating the old. The presidency vacated by the death of the sixth Duke of Bedford in 1839 was immediately accepted by his successor in the title. Two years earlier the society had come under the special patronage of Queen Victoria. Among the distinguished names that were added to the roll of vice-presidents from 1833 to 1858 are those of the Dukes of Argyll and Devonshire, Lord Morpeth, better known as the Earl of Carlisle, Sir George Grey, and Sir E. N. Buxton.

¹ See Note at end of chapter.

Again, looking towards the future, certain notable movements were initiated during these years which bore fruit at a later time. The founding of Bangor Normal College has already been referred to; even more important was the acquisition of land at Stockwell for the removal of the women's department from Borough Road, to give scope for its extension, as well as to leave room there for a greater number of men. Another experiment, at Bristol, proved unsuccessful. In 1855, the committee resolved upon the opening of an infant school in connection with Borough Road. This was afterwards established at Stockwell.

To several of the changes above recorded we must now give closer attention. They fall into two main groups; those relating to education as practised at the central establishment, and those which belong to the more general movement in the provinces and abroad. Already, in the last two chapters, we have traced the principal political development of the period, and the part taken by the society in the general educational controversy of the time. We are now concerned with work not less important, although less easy to chronicle.

The year 1838 was one of marked activity on the part of the society. In April, the memorial to Lord John Russell, setting forth the whole ideal of a national education, was drawn up, and at the same time a sub-committee was appointed to inquire as to desirable improvements at Borough Road. It reported in the autumn, and two notable reforms followed, upon the initiative of Dunn and Crossley. The first was the introduction of non-scriptural reading lessons, designed, as the report of 1840 informs us, "to favour the production of good moral and religious influences, in connection with a rigorous course of intellectual instruction and discipline." The committee considered that the selection of pieces was "calculated to improve the minds and characters of young persons, to promote the cultivation of a humble, contented, and domestic spirit, and to lead to the more intelligent perusal of the sacred Scriptures."

The first Reading Book (No. III.) is thus described: "Each day's lesson has been made to include, first, a text of Holy Scripture, which, being committed to memory, may serve as a motto for the day; secondly, a brief poetical extract adapted to improve the taste and excite the affections, and, lastly, a portion of useful knowledge, intended as a general exercise in reading."¹

The experiment was anxiously regarded and perhaps reluctantly made by the worthy committee of that day, which trusted "that the use of additional lessons need not be regarded as risking this important principle" of diligent Bible reading and teaching. It had, however, satisfactory results far beyond the timid hopes of its sponsors. It must have been hailed with delight by the teachers, who were now, as we have suggested, beginning to exercise some corporate influence upon the committee itself. A conference held in August 1836, at the request of the teachers,² had asked the committee to arrange for special teachers' classes, for the purchase of books on educational matters, and the issue of a quarterly report on educational improvements. Something in these directions seems to have been at once effected, but it was not till 1848 that the *Educational Record* was remodelled and took on something of its present character as a means of communication between the committee, friends, and teachers of the society.

The determination to keep the model school ahead of the times was very strong in its principal, Mr. Crossley; and it was as a result of his representations that the sub-committee recommended the building of galleries after the plan already adopted at the Glasgow Normal School. This grew, after Mr. Crossley's visit to Liverpool, Glasgow, and Dublin, according to the report of 1840, into "three spacious class-rooms," fitted up with galleries for simultaneous teaching," where the candidate-teachers [students] could practise upon large classes.

¹ Quoted in Bonwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3.

² The British School Teachers' Association was formed earlier, but began to hold quarterly meetings in 1836.

We find the teachers from time to time urging the need for their own better instruction, as when in 1845 thirty-seven London women teachers express a desire to attend a monthly lecture by one of the men's normal school masters. A course of lectures on history appears to have been then arranged. A similar application for classes in mathematics was subsequently made by the masters and duly acceded to.

But the initiative did not always come from the teachers. Almost as soon as the rebuilding of the central establishment was completed the committee arranged to hold a summer school there, for twenty country teachers during the harvest vacation, with courses of instruction in teaching and model drawing. No fees were charged. The experiment was most successful, and was repeated for several years.

Nor was the greater efficiency of the teachers the only care of the society. From very early days, as I have recorded, Corston and others had interested themselves in the question of teachers' superannuation and benevolent funds, and in 1852 we find the committee issuing a letter to teachers urging upon them the great importance of life insurance, and calling their attention to the proposals of the government. The very existence of the British Teachers' Association was largely due to the cordial support of the committee in early years, and, again, at the end of this period the minutes contain a declaration of the committee's desire to give countenance and aid in extending such associations.

The monitorial system was now breaking down both at home and abroad. But it was not finally swept away till after 1847, when the committee unanimously agreed to accept government assistance for the training of pupil-teachers.

The introduction of the pupil-teacher system, fostered by the government grants to students and head masters and by queen's scholarships, brought about great changes at Borough Road, of some of which we have already spoken.

The first result, the experiment of a branch normal school in

Bristol (1849-52), which was designed to relieve the pressure on the central establishment, failed through lack of government aid. It was in any case upon too small a scale to have attracted the better students, and could not have been adequately staffed for the education of those attending it.¹ When it was abandoned, additional premises were hired in London, in Manor Place and West Square, for men and women respectively. This had become necessary in view of the pressure of the Committee of Council upon the society to increase the accommodation for students who were willing to stay beyond the single year. At the beginning of 1852 there were only ten out of the seventy-five Borough Road students who were taking a full year's course, as against nearly six hundred in the many colleges of the National Society. Upon representations to this effect, the committee immediately resolved to take further premises if necessary for the short term students, whom they could not refuse to train, but who were, in the nature of the case, unfit to undergo the prescribed examinations.

It was not, however, without a struggle that Mr. Dunn and his committee accepted the two years' course, which was appointed for queen's scholars. There were reasons for preferring the old type of master, a man—or a woman—of maturer character, and actuated, as a rule, by clearer and perhaps higher motives than the mere youth or girl who came up from the primary school to college. There was force in the argument that a man made a better teacher after one year's training than a youth after two; while, from the point of view of expense, the committee was frankly sceptical about the prudence of a two years' training for girls, when so large a proportion either broke down during the course or married soon after. Moreover the practical difficulty of finding accommodation weighed heavily. With requests for 140 masters per annum they thought they only saw their way clear to train

¹ Probably the whole idea of a college for "rural" teachers was ill-judged.

about 20 on the new plan. In the end, however, they had to yield to the demands of the hour; only to recognise in later years, with many others, that the whole pupil-teacher system, however necessary at the time, had been of doubtful advantage to national education.

The advent of the pupil-teacher is probably the most striking revolution in the story of the training college. From this time forward it became bound up in quite a new sense with a government department. The grants in aid of trained queen's scholars¹ began to be received in 1852-53, and immediately became an almost necessary part of the society's income, the total government grant for Borough Road amounting to £4250 in 1857-58, when the expenses of the training department stood at £5100.²

Important conditions were attached to the aid granted to pupil-teachers, and in 1851 they were required to reside for a year in a training college or to serve three years as assistant (or head) masters in an inspected school before being examined for a certificate. It will therefore be readily understood that the Minutes of 1846-47, instituting the pupil-teacher system, brought about a complete change at Borough Road, after the preliminary five years of apprenticeship in the schools were completed, that is to say from the year 1852 or 1853 onwards.

The predominating type of student was henceforward different; and hence his training was necessarily somewhat different too. While losing under these altered conditions something of its first distinction as an efficient training college, and the only one on undenominational lines, Borough Road held its own in public esteem and interest. If it was hardly

¹ A certain number of such pupil-teachers as, having completed their five years' apprenticeship at school, successfully passed the required public examination and received a queen's scholarship of £20-£25.

² £750 of the grant was for the general expenses, "unconditioned annual grant"; £1600 for certificated teachers; and £1900 for queen's scholars. The grant for "certificated teachers" consisted of a payment amounting to £15-£20 per annum in aid of the salary of teachers who had received one year's training, with an additional £5 for a second and again for a third year.

now the show place it had been fifty years earlier, or even in 1835 when it was visited by Gladstone, Wordsworth, and Brougham, yet it was inspected by many foreigners at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1851, when also a singular piece of penmanship produced by the Thame British School was on show. This was in two parts, the first containing 2500 letters in 400 styles, and at the bottom a representation of the Second Coming; the second, with 1800 letters in 33 styles and Moses receiving the Law. It was perhaps as well for education proper when some of these singular and entertaining flourishes were abandoned. Another educational exhibition in which the society had its share was that opened by Prince Albert in St. Martin's Hall, July 1854; while it furnished materials, in 1857, for the Educational Museum at South Kensington.

We may now turn to other and more extended labours which occupied the attention of the committee during this quarter of a century. And note, before passing to Wales, the growth of county educational associations, like those in Cambridge, formed in 1844, and in Kent and Buckingham in 1845; and the help afforded in training teachers and voting materials for the schools of the Ragged School Union in the succeeding years.

Wales, the stronghold of Dissent, had received little assistance till the close of 1843, when Mr. Phillips was appointed an inspector and agent in the northern part of the principality. Teachers were immediately sent to Borough Road for training and committees formed and buildings hired or erected. The report of 1845 records the holding of a joint conference¹ to promote education in South Wales, which was followed by the establishment of a training college at Brecon and the founding of the Cambrian Education Society, which seems to have regarded itself as an auxiliary of the British Society. The work of Mr. Phillips was heartily acknowledged both by resolution and collections by the Calvinistic Methodist body

¹ Report for 1847, p. 19.

in 1848; and proved so successful that it seems singular that South Wales had to wait for ten more years before the appointment of an agent who could carry out the same programme there.¹ But eventually, near the end of 1853, the Rev. W. Roberts was appointed. With the multiplication of schools there was a corresponding demand for teachers, who were far too few to supply the need, and this led to the establishment of a normal college at Bangor.

In October 1855 we find upon the committee's minutes a vote of £25 for the expenses of teachers who should attend the forthcoming conference in that town; and in the following April, Robert Forster, who now filled a place upon the committee not unlike that of William Allen in earlier days, reported the results of the meeting at Bangor which had been attended by himself and Hugh Owen.² With some aid from the parent society a local committee was formed, which acquired a site and, pending building operations, opened a training school, in January 1858, in temporary premises. The London committee voted £100 to the scheme, but being at the time most anxious to secure a development of their own immediate work, especially in the training of women, they did not undertake any further responsibility in connection with it.³ Bangor College was built as a result of their initiative and was conducted upon their principles, but it was never under their management nor were they, for many years to come, officially represented upon its governing body.

The Irish and Scottish efforts of the society belong to the

¹ Partly due to the activity of the Congregationalists now working separately from the society, partly to disturbed social conditions.

² To Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hugh Owen was largely due the interest taken by the British School Society in Welsh education. It was he who brought its principles before his compatriots in 1843 when there were a mere half dozen British schools in the principality; and it was at his suggestion that the two agents, Mr. Phillips and Mr. W. Roberts, whose work proved so effective in Northern and Southern Wales, respectively, were subsequently appointed by the society.

Before the founding of the Bangor College no fewer than 66 young Welshmen were trained at Borough Road.

³ Beyond the continuation of Mr. Phillips' salary.

preceding period, and we may now take up the record of its foreign and colonial work. This decreases in importance with the years, but as late as 1856 the report mentions thirty-five grants "to schools in the colonies or other foreign parts." The West Indies and Australia present the principal points of interest, but efforts were still being made in Europe, as for example in Portugal, while reports were regularly furnished of progress in Greece and the islands.

Taking Europe first, the minutes of 1834-41 record the history of the Spanish experiment, made at the initiative of the Queen Regent. Dr. Villabolas and Don Diego Gallardo were duly trained at Borough Road; and, returning to Madrid, took charge of the training college and model school founded in 1818 by Kearney and others. The former gentleman subsequently, about 1840, returned to London to be Professor of Spanish in King's College.

About the same time Forster interested himself in the introduction of the system in Portugal, but without much success.

Very different results had followed from the efforts in Greece, where in 1854¹ not far short of forty thousand scholars were receiving scriptural education.

Proceeding further afield, the West Indies claim special attention. Education followed necessarily upon emancipation, and for a few years was eagerly sought after by the negroes. The society appointed a special sub-committee to deal with the matter, and during the next decade West Indian affairs frequently appear upon the minutes. In January 1835, £50 was voted for new schools in Spanish Town, Jamaica, and in August Mr. E. Wallbridge, who had been the normal instructor at Borough Road, was sent out by the society and became head of the first normal school established in the island under the Mico Charity, which at this time became available for the purposes of education in the West Indies.

¹ Henceforward the list of foreign honorary members is omitted from the annual reports.

From 1837-42, Parliament voted £30,000 a year for education in Jamaica, but after that the grant decreased, ceasing altogether in 1846. By this time popular enthusiasm had also slackened, and a period of great depression set in.

During the earlier years the committee was busy, not only in training teachers and voting aid, but in using its influence with the home government in favour of undenominational education. Thus we find Mr. Dunn writing to and interviewing the authorities for a grant for the metropolitan school in Jamaica, and protesting against the denominational character of education in the Bahamas and the consequent grievous opposition to Mr. McSwiney's work there. Eventually both Mr. Wallbridge and Mr. McSwiney, after filling useful posts in the islands, went to work in British Guiana.¹

In Australia a beginning had been made early in the thirties by Governor Bourke, who sought to introduce into New South Wales the system recently established in Ireland under Mr. Stanley. In 1834, the colonial government voted money for education to be allotted to the denominations in proportion to their voluntary contributions, and five years later offered grants to any undenominational schools which might be organised. In 1848, the latter were placed under the control of a national board. Grants had been made by the London committee to the Sydney school from time to time before 1836, and the visit of James Backhouse has already been referred to: in the report for that year extracts are published from the account furnished by the provisional committee of the Australian School Society. From this it would appear that there was no provision for half the children of school age in the young metropolis, and that the committee proposed to open British schools there for both boys and girls. The boys' school was duly opened June 8, 1835, and a girls' school six months later. The schools met with difficulties at first; but

¹ The schools in Hayti struggled on during the early years of this period, eight being still in existence in 1840.

with the patronage of the governor, who presented a site for a normal school, and with a gift of £100 from the London committee, better days seemed to be beginning.

About the same time, 1839, a liberal plan of elementary education was being promoted in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), while in the new colony of South Australia it was reported to the first annual meeting of the school society there that schools had been already erected in Adelaide. At the very founding of the colony, in 1836, Captain Bromley, whose name is already familiar to us, had gone thither, and another trained teacher also.

A little later, six teachers were trained at Borough Road for Van Diemen's Land, at the request of the Governor, Sir John Franklin. About 1841, a beginning upon the British system was made at Melbourne, and at the same time the society's interest was awakened by reports and inquiries from New Zealand, where, in 1842, the Nelson School Society was founded, which established eight schools during the next six years.¹

Religious difficulties proved too great for the system in Sydney, where the local society suspended operations in 1846. Elsewhere also throughout Australia similar conditions too often prevailed; but in 1849, a Tasmanian auxiliary to the British and Foreign School Society was duly founded. In 1851, the discovery of gold seems to have diverted public attention from more important matters.

Other foreign operations need not long detain us.

In South America the system continued to make progress. A correspondent is quoted in the report of 1839 as declaring that the system "has been generally established throughout New Granada," but is imperfectly carried out there. In 1848 there were thirty schools at Lima alone, and the work was

¹ In the 1840 report allusion is made to an institution for the education and maintenance of children of English fathers to be founded "in the proposed township of Victoria," and conducted on the principles of the British Society. I know nothing further about it.

proceeding, under the charge of liberal priests, in other parts of Peru.

The experiment in Cairo flagged about the year 1850 through lack of official support, and with the death of the liberal Viceroy Mehemet Ali all sorts of progressive enterprises were suspended. A dépôt for the society's materials had been established in Calcutta at the beginning of this period in order to supply the schools of the missionaries and others.

Grants were frequently made throughout these years to mission-schools in South Africa and the South Seas, where many were established, notably in Samoa. Under French protection the Tahitian Parliament made school attendance compulsory in 1848, nationalised the schoolhouses, and established a system of inspection.

In the West Indies at Antigua, where operations had begun at a very early date under the Moravians, hardly any young man or woman was illiterate in 1852.

These scattered examples of the foreign activity of the society up to 1858, and its educational results, will serve to indicate the change which was going on both in the world at large and in the immediate work of the committee. The days when Allen laboured in Eastern Europe are recalled by the work of Thomson in South America and of Backhouse in South Africa and Australia. In other fields the toil of devoted and enlightened missionaries is gradually giving place to that of the legislatures, or of the "protecting" powers. Everywhere the work of the teacher is beset by difficulties, and in one field after another he is hampered and thwarted by sectarian bitterness. But this is the result of a widening conviction of the paramount importance of his work and influence, and a melancholy but inevitable form for such tribute to take. After the founding of schools follows the need for training colleges and for inspection. So the story of the society at home is reproduced with varying circumstances in every quarter of the globe.

The period under review closed with the appointment of a new Commission to inquire into the condition of education, of whose results we must speak in the next chapter.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII

Lord John Russell's relation to the society as vice-president and president for a period of fifty-three years, and as chairman at thirty-one anniversary meetings, recalls the extraordinary position which he also held as a statesman.

Born in 1792, he entered Parliament as soon as he came of age, and remained in the House of Commons for half a century. In 1819 he became a champion of reform. Nine years later he secured the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. From 1830, when he became Paymaster-General in Lord Grey's administration, till the close of his Parliamentary life, he was in office for nearly thirty years, and was twice Prime Minister. With the possible exception of Lord Palmerston, he was the most conspicuous political figure of the period; and from his thirty-second year, when he first appeared at one of its public meetings, till his death at the age of nearly eighty-six, he was the active supporter of the British School Society. A useful collection of excerpts from his addresses before it is to be found in the *Educational Record* for June 1878.

It need hardly be added that his father, the sixth Duke of Bedford, was the first president of the society, an office to which his elder brother, the seventh duke, succeeded in 1839. From the earliest days, therefore, and indeed from 1803 till 1878, for exactly seventy-five years, the house of Russell exercised a great and benevolent influence on this work of unsectarian religious education.

PART III

THE THIRD QUARTER (1858-1883)

COLLEGE BUILDING

*FROM THE FOUNDING OF BANGOR AND STOCKWELL,
TO THAT OF SAFFRON WALDEN COLLEGE*

CHAPTER IX

NATIONAL EDUCATION TO THE ACT OF 1870

The Commission of 1858—Mr. Lowe's Revised Code—Criticism by the Society—Decline in Number of Students—Minutes of 1867—Introduction of Forster's Bill—Its Reception—Analysis in *Educational Record*—Verdict of the Society—Relation of the Act to the Society—The Religious Problem again—The Bible and the Teacher.

IN the first half century of its growth the British school movement had been actively and earnestly promoted by a comparatively small minority. In spite of notable exceptions, the wealth and influence of the country seemed still to stand on the side of denominational enterprise, and in spite of a succession of Liberal—or perhaps it would be better to say Whig—ministries, in which Lord John Russell and other friends of the society had held office, little had been accomplished in the direction of establishing the more inclusive principle as that of the nation. But it must be remembered that the House of Commons was still elected by a very small proportion of the adult population; even after the Reform Bill of 1832 only one adult male in seven possessed the suffrage. It was not till 1867 that any popular election became possible, and the new national educational policy dates from this time.

The third quarter of the century over which this history extends is in the first place notable for the passage of Forster's Education Act in 1870 which represented the acceptance of the British Society's principles in a national system; but secondly for the new work of the society in fostering the kindergarten movement. It is marked also by large college building operations, from the rise of Bangor and of the women's colleges at Stockwell, Darlington, and Swansea, to the founding of the

Kindergarten Training College at Saffron Walden. The period was, in a word, that of college, rather than of school, building for the society, and may thus be distinguished from those of initiation and expansion. All the great building enterprises directly undertaken by the society, except those belonging more especially to "Borough Road" and its subsequent removal, belong to the thirty years from 1856 to 1886 and practically fall within this period.

But important as these are, the first interest of the time must be sought in the wider field of national politics. To this then we must turn.

Defeated in 1855 on his Bill for establishing a national system of free rate-aided board schools, Sir John Pakington, an earnest Conservative educationalist, succeeded three years later in obtaining the appointment of another Royal Commission of Inquiry. His own principal object was that of providing schools in the poorest districts, which had hitherto received little assistance from the public authorities, whose aid had gone to those better able to help themselves. The Commission sat for three years under the presidency of the Duke of Newcastle, and reported in 1861. It received distressing evidence as to the character of most of the private schools which were usually the only ones to be found in the districts whose need was attracting special attention. These were often taught by discharged servants or barmaids, outdoor paupers, small traders, washerwomen, sweet-sellers, cripples, drunkards, consumptive and very aged persons—those, in short, who had no more profitable resource than such a school afforded. Many of the schools were held in lofts, bedrooms, cellars, kitchens, shops, workshops, or other available but unsuitable places; where the children, generally little more than infants, tumbled over one another "like puppies in a kennel."¹ Attendance, always irregular, ceased

¹ The importance of the provision of better infant schools had been raised in committee by Allen, November 1829, and was discussed at a

altogether at an early age, and the pupils, who had learnt next to nothing, forgot even this within the next twelve months.

This last consideration applied also to most of the public schools. In fact the result of the inquiry went to show that while perhaps three-quarters of the children of school age attended some school, at some time or other, only one-third were in inspected schools; that the education of the remainder was an almost negligible quantity, and that, owing to the short period and irregular character of attendance, even in the inspected schools a mere fraction of the total number of scholars ever entered the upper classes in which alone any satisfactory teaching was given. The intelligence of the remainder was never awakened, that is to say their real education was not so much as begun. Even the much discussed and loudly boasted religious teaching of the schools proved, on investigation, to be no better than the rest. Here, for example, is an answer to the question, "What is thy duty towards God?" given by an average child in an inspected school, which has often been quoted as evidence of the parrot-work which passed for religious instruction in 1855:—

"My duty toads God is to bleed in Him, to fering and to loaf withold your arts, withold my mine, withold my sold, and with my sernth, to wirchp and give thanks, to put my old trash in Him, to call upon Him, to onner His old name and His world, and to save Him truly all the days of my life's end."¹

But even with evidence of this character before it, the Commission, recognising public feeling, pronounced against compulsory attendance, and also opposed any state interference in religious instruction. It recommended an additional and novel method of granting aid from the rates, by the results of examination, and the establishment of county and borough boards of education.

special meeting without definite result. In 1836 a special society, which took the name of the Home and Colonial Society, was founded for the promotion of such schools and the training of their teachers.

¹ Craik, *The State in its Relation to Education*, pp. 55-6.

Referring to these recommendations the British Society remarked at once on the "apparent complicity and costliness of the proposed machinery";¹ and in this view the public seems to have concurred. For the government only acted upon such of the Commission's suggestions as might apply directly to existing methods of state aid and inspection. Mr. Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of Council,² in Lord Palmerston's ministry, when defending his educational budget before the House of Commons, July 11, 1861, declared that it was not the government's intention to alter the principle then dominant in public education. What they did propose was to increase the responsibility of school managers, and to make the government aid dependent, in part, upon efficient instruction in "the three R's."

The changes effected by Mr. Lowe's Revised Code were necessitated by certain weaknesses in the older system. Thus the method of class examination previously pursued by the inspector encouraged the teachers to give special attention to those quick children who would save the situation by answering his questions, while the backward pupils were neglected. Under the new Code the inspection became a test of individual teaching, and the neglected condition of the backward pupils could no longer be concealed.

The old Code of regulations had proved inefficient—only one-quarter of the scholars in aided schools receiving any sound education.³ I cannot promise you, such was the gist of Mr. Lowe's cynical logic, that this new Code will be economical and efficient, but I can promise you that it shall be either one or the other. If it is not efficient it shall be cheap; and if it is not cheap it shall be efficient.⁴

The prophecy may seem to have been justified by the immediate decrease in the amount of the grant, which had previously risen to £840,000 (1861), but fell to £635,000 in 1865, a

¹ Report, 1861.

³ Craik, p. 66.

² An office created in 1856.

⁴ Holman,² *National Education*, p. 57.

decline of 25 per cent. This fact alone makes it clear that the voluntary system was not only on its trial, but that, according to the test of Mr. Lowe, it was being found wanting.

Mr. Lowe's test, however, was by no means accepted as a fair one in the earlier years of its application. A storm of protest immediately arose upon the revision of the Code, which was described by no less a person than Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth as "an act of spoliation ever to be remembered with shame." This, naturally enough, was the general view of the supporters of the two great societies, who regarded the new conditions attached to the grant in the light of a breach of contract. Other more radical critics observed the insufficiency of the government proposals, in view of the great need existing, and now clearly seen to exist; while the teachers themselves protested against their stereotyping, unsympathetic tendency. Every one in fact attacked Mr. Lowe.

The attitude of the British Society towards the Revised Code is of some interest. In October 1861 the secretary was directed to prepare evidence for use in opposing it, and returns were obtained from five hundred British schools. Later, Robert Forster and Dunn attended a meeting at Shuttleworth's house, convened to take concerted action against the Code, and a deputation was sent to wait on Lord Granville, the President of the Council. Early in 1862, the committee and patrons of British schools were encouraged to sign a petition against the Code, which was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. J. I. Briscoe, an active member of the society's committee.

The opposition was especially directed against certain parts of the minutes, some of which were subsequently suspended and modified. The committee had resolved that it (1) regretted the change as a whole; and notably (2) in so far as it made the grant conditional on the result of individual examination, protesting especially against the proposed classification according to age, which would militate, as they considered, against both infants' schools and the classes of older

children; (3) also, in respect of training colleges, to the withdrawal of the augmentation grant to certificated teachers and to proposed alterations which would discourage pupil-teachers.

As a result of the vigorous opposition offered to the original proposals in every part of the country, they were considerably amended before the issue of the minute of May 9, 1862. Payment of the grant was now dependent partly upon attendance and only in part upon examination; while the examination was to be conducted according to school standards, and not merely to the age of the children; the grant for infants was not to be dependent upon examination; and grants were made applicable to night schools. But the unfavourable changes relating to pupil-teachers remained.

Part of the grant to any school was henceforward lost on its failure to pass the inspector's examination in one of the three essentials, and thus the attention of the managers and often of the teacher was apt to become riveted upon mere parrot work in the "beggarly elements" of the "three R's"; while grammar, geography, and history disappeared from the curriculum. The level of the teachers' necessary attainments was soon afterwards also reduced: it became possible for them to obtain certificates, or provisional certificates, without due training.

We find in the society's report for 1864 an interesting statement based upon the first year's experience of the New Code. The heat of opposition had now passed away; but actual proof only established certain objections, the principal being the discouragement of pupil-teachers, whose payment was now made by the local school managers instead of by the central department; and the threatened abolition of queen's scholarships.¹ But the report recognised certain beneficial results, small schools and night schools, for example, having been encouraged.²

¹ The committee opposed a proposal of state aid to schools without a trained certificated teacher, as tending to discourage proper equipment.

² During the grievous distress which prevailed in Lancashire through-

This period, 1861-66, was marked by great general activity in the building and rebuilding of schools, under government inspection, the number increasing by 1550, but also of a lamentable decline in the proportion of teachers to scholars, and a diminution of pupil-teachers by nearly 4500. The training colleges suffered correspondingly: and thus, while there was an increasingly urgent demand for trained teachers, the supply was less than before. The grants for the training colleges at Borough Road and Stockwell were naturally affected by these causes. In 1861-63 they averaged £6300, but during the next three years were only £4700. This in itself was of course a serious situation for the committee. It was even more distressing to have a number of vacancies at Borough Road with the need for trained teachers still unabated. In 1867 there were only 63 young men where accommodation and staff was provided for 100; and even at Stockwell, whose training has always been in great demand, there were several vacancies. But from this time forward a greater number of students began once more to present themselves. This was doubtless due to the additional financial stimulus given to pupil-teachers by the minute of 1867, which also encouraged the teaching of additional subjects.¹

A careful analysis of the new minute was published in the *Educational Record* for July 1867, in which considerable doubt was cast upon its accomplishing the admittedly excellent objects for which it had been promulgated. As to any probable increase in the number of pupil-teachers, Mr. Fitch, who was now one of her Majesty's inspectors, agreed with his

out the war of rebellion in America, 1861-65, a rapid development took place in night schools and adult classes, which were largely attended by the unemployed operatives. Hence the special value at this period of the assistance afforded under the Revised Code.

¹ Science teaching was now being introduced into elementary schools. The examination of the Science and Art Departments had been opened to the students in training for elementary school teachers in 1867. The British Society formed a science committee forthwith, and in the following May presented 69 candidates for examination. With 1870 the London colleges were both full once more.

old society; while another, Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his report to the Committee of Council for 1867, deplored the increasingly mechanical character of examination, and the consequently decreased educational stimulus of inspection under the Revised Code. The inspectors' reports for 1868, however, showed some improvements. In many places school staffs were being increased, the body of pupil-teachers was again growing, and the mechanical character of the teaching was breaking up under the grants for extra optional subjects. The next report showed a further increase in pupil-teachers, amounting in the three years 1867-69 to some 4000; and this was followed by a steady rise in the grants to the society's two training colleges, which at the end of 1870 stood at £6000.

But with all the efforts that had been made during the past half century it remained more evident than ever that England was still uneducated. In 1869 accommodation was provided for only about half the children of the nation in inspected schools; and little more than half that proportion were in average attendance. It is true that a great advance had been made: school accommodation had been doubled in ten years, and with accommodation the staff of certificated teachers had greatly increased. A little more than a million and a half was now being spent annually upon elementary education, a sum contributed in nearly equal proportions by government grants, by the parents' fees, and by voluntary subscription. Yet with all this progress, the fact remained that, on any given day, of the children of England some three out of four were probably absent from any properly inspected school.¹

¹ According to the report of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, there were in 1858 some 30,000 private schools containing perhaps 900,000 scholars, two-thirds of whom belonged presumably to the working-classes. Besides these were some 23,000 others of a public character, supplying education to 1,600,000 scholars, and 19,559 of these schools with nearly 1,200,000 scholars—three-quarters of the total number—were supported by the Church of England. 1131 schools with 151,000 pupils were specified as "British." And besides there were nearly 200 ragged schools with 21,000 pupils, schools in which the society felt a special interest. In 1858 there were also about 750 Roman Catholic, 450 Wesleyan, 390

This was the situation when, in February 1870, William Edward Forster, the member for Bradford and Vice-President of the Council, introduced his Bill on behalf of the Liberal government. He had long been associated in politics with men like Cobden, whose general views on education have already been stated, while he counted Carlyle among his personal friends.¹ For many years he had been keenly interested in the education problem, inclining to the position of these two men, and supporting the most comprehensive practicable system.

Although born and bred a Quaker, he had left the Society upon his marriage with a sister of Matthew Arnold.² A nephew of Robert Forster of Tottenham, he had not been himself, at this time, identified in any direct way with the British School Society; nor had his father been especially interested in its work.³ But from the introduction of his Bill, Forster belonged by right to its ranks. He was made a vice-president in 1874 and in 1883 became president.

Before the introduction of the Bill of 1870 he had already succeeded in spite of vigorous opposition in removing some of the worst abuses of endowments for secondary education by his Act of 1869.

Immediately upon the introduction of his larger Bill the committee of the British Society passed a resolution congratulating him upon it, and expressing "their gratitude to him for the calm, dignified, and statesmanlike attitude assumed towards the education question." They then appointed a sub-committee to consider the Bill and to offer suggestions upon it. In their annual report for this year they declare

Congregational, 140 Baptist, and 120 "Factory" schools, and a smaller number of schools attached to nine other denominations, beside some fifty philanthropic, orphan, and Birkbeck schools. In 1870 only 14,565 "public" schools were yet receiving government aid. (Frederick Seebohm, *Contemporary Review*, February 1872).

¹ See Note to Chapter VII.

² According to an evil custom then prevailing by which a Quaker's membership was cancelled on his or her marriage with a non-Quaker.

³ As a lad he seems at some time to have attended an annual meeting with one or other of the Tottenham family.

that though the measure does not adopt the British school system, it is so far from being hostile as to propose to assimilate other schools to this model in several important respects; and quote with approval expressions of religious sentiment recently used by Forster in Parliament in which, speaking of his knowledge of working men, he had said: "I know their sympathies, I know their doubts and difficulties; I wish I knew how to answer them; but I am sure of this—the old English Bible is still a sacred thing in their hearts, and no measure would be more unpopular than one which declared by Act of Parliament that the Bible should be excluded from the school."

Mr. Cowper Temple, the author of the famous amending clause on religious instruction, who became a vice-president of the society in 1873, was also warmly thanked by the committee for his attitude during the ensuing debates upon the Bill, in which they felt he had acted as their best representative. He was already at that time a subscriber to the society's funds.

The Bill underwent considerable amendment, during its passage through the House, in the direction of more popular election and more undenominational religious instruction; and these changes were due in part to the pressure actively brought to bear on the government by the society. Mr. Dunn, now a member of the committee, had drawn up a paper of suggestions which had been forwarded to each member of Parliament and to the friends of the society; while a letter upon the society's solution of the religious difficulty which had appeared in the *Times* was also given wide circulation. The Bill became law on August 9, 1870, and a special number of the *Educational Record* was devoted to its analysis.¹

¹ In a note thereto, it was explained that the new board schools would be open to secular and sectarian influences from which it was sought to keep all British schools free. (See *Ed. Rec.* viii. p. 131.) With this caution the report clearly foresaw, however, that the greater number of such schools would for all intents and purposes become British schools under the Cowper-Temple clause (§ 14) inserted by amendment, *i.e.*, "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive

The complexion and effect of the Act is described in the following words—

“It will thus be seen that while providing for the continuance and extension of voluntary schools and allowing denominationalism on one hand, and secularism on the other, the new Education Act is as favourable to the principles of the British and Foreign School Society as could well be expected; perhaps as much so as would be possible in legislative enactments.

“Religious differences are no longer to interfere with education. The ratepayers are to be at liberty in every district to entrust the management of schools to those in whom they have confidence. Education is to be given for its own sake. Thoroughly worked, the Act will secure education for every child in the country without trenching on the religious liberty of any; and no schools will have to make fewer alterations than those conducted on the British principle. British schools may continue under exactly the same management as at present, and with a grant which will probably be larger. It will be necessary, however, to alter the time-table by placing the Bible lesson either at the beginning or end of the school meeting, and to give exemption from the Biblical instruction wherever claimed by the parents.”¹

The problems naturally arising out of the new situation were also discussed. Will it be desirable to build more British schools? Should the formation of boards be encouraged? And, where these are formed, should British schools be transferred to their care? Finally, where British schools are still closed against government inspection, should these now be opened? Suggestions are made, but no definite answers given. All friends of religious unsectarian education are, however, of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.” It pointed out that British schools themselves would now fall into three classes, (1) board schools, pure and simple, (2) voluntary schools aided by grants, (3) unaided voluntary schools, and that all would come under government inspection.

¹ *Ed. Rec.* viii. pp. 137-38.

urged to bestir themselves, to hold conferences, influence public opinion, and secure representation on the first school boards.

During September Mr. Bourne, then recently appointed secretary, attended conferences in Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, and other places in the north, explaining the Act and declaring the attitude of the society. Many other meetings were arranged in London and the west during October and November, while the questions of correspondents were fully answered in the pages of the *Educational Record*.

By the time the Bill had become law the committee were enabled to claim it as their own:—

“The foundation has been laid of a truly national system of education. The measure which was under the consideration of Parliament at the time of the last annual meeting has become law. In accordance with this Act the Education Department has become entirely undenominational. Its new Code seeks to place all schools, as far as relates to government inspection and state privileges, on a common level. It recognises those schools only which are ‘open to the children of all religious denominations,’ and aims, by stringent regulations, to secure religious liberty for the scholars through the week and on the Sabbath.

“Under this Act, moreover, an opportunity is given to the ratepayers to appoint persons in whom they have confidence, irrespective of religious and political and social distinctions, as members of an educational school board—a committee charged with the duty, and armed with the power, of providing school accommodation for every untaught child in the district between the ages of five and thirteen years. The schools established and supported by the boards must be efficient and undenominational; they must come up to the standard of the Education Department, and ‘no religious catechism or religious formulary that is distinctive of any particular denomination’ is to be taught.

“ That the correspondence between the principles of this society and the provisions of the Education Act of 1870 was designed, is proved by the speech in Parliament in which Mr. Gladstone said: ‘ We have in this country a society which aims at undenominational and unsectarian education—we have the British and Foreign School Society, which has for sixty-five years sought this object, and which has chosen the very path which the government are now proposing to the committee.’ ”¹

The society had been already relieved of some of its heaviest anxiety as to the religious attitude of the new authorities by the decision of the London School Board which had accepted Bible reading and undenominational religious teaching for all its schools. Similar decisions were adopted by most of the provincial boards. It felt, moreover, that it had won a notable victory in the new Code of 1871, which also had been considerably amended in the direction of its suggestions. Hence it could declare “ if British schools are merged in the schools of the nation, it will not be because their distinctive features have been lost, but because those features have become general, if not universal.” Mr. Mundella, in moving one of the resolutions at the annual meeting of 1871, described the British system as “ about to become the system—I wish I could say the only system—of national education.”

Let us, for a moment, consider the degree in which these declarations as to the relation between the society and the new law were true. What then was the real character of the Act of 1870? In the first place, to use its author’s phraseology, it was a law intended to fill up the gaps in the existing voluntary system; and as such it was vigorously opposed by those Radicals who wished to see a new and, as they would say, a truly national, system created. As a *supplementary* measure it did not bring into existence those free schools for which reformers had long been looking; nor did it enforce compulsory

¹ Report, 1871, pp. 1-2.

attendance. But following lines long ago laid down by the British Society and its earliest supporters, it provided for the formation of a popular educational body in every school district, and for the establishment of a public elementary school therein, which should be open to all children without any denominational condition whatever.

The method of procedure was to be as follows: local authorities were first to report on the educational conditions of their districts, much as the auxiliaries mapped out by Place were to have done, and as in certain districts they actually did, half a century earlier; and action was to be taken on their report to provide such school accommodation as might still be required, either by voluntary effort or, failing this within a specified period, by the creation of a school board with rating powers, upon which the duty would then devolve.

The schools which these boards provided were to be strictly undenominational: and rights of conscience were now safeguarded by the regulation that any child might be withdrawn from such religious instruction as was given, and that that instruction must be arranged at the beginning or end of the school-sitting. Fees were to be charged, except under special circumstances.

Finally, school boards might obtain the consent of the Education Department to render school attendance compulsory in their particular districts.

I think the mere rehearsal of these characteristics of the new Act is sufficient to suggest its intimate relation to the labours and ideals of the society: it was moreover, as I have shown, the work of men who were either themselves connected with the British Society already, or afterwards became its most distinguished supporters.

But while it was upon the lines of the society's work, and on the whole may be said, in so far as it went, to have nationalised the British system, and rendered almost ¹ unnecessary

¹ It must not be supposed that the founding of British schools ceased

the further promotion by the society of British schools, the Act did not relieve the society of its responsibility in other directions. Responsibility for the provision of undenominational religious teaching in elementary schools and for the conduct of normal colleges upon undenominational principles still remained and was even increased.

Before taking up the question of the colleges, it may not be out of place to add here another word or two upon the religious question.

In 1869 two famous opposing organisations had sprung into existence: "the Education League," associated with Birmingham and the names of Mr. Dixon, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Jesse Collings; and the National Education Union, which seems to have belonged rather to Manchester and to have received a large measure of Anglican support. The league demanded free unsectarian schools, supported out of the rates, under local popular control and government inspection, with compulsory attendance. The point for immediate consideration is the advocacy of "unsectarian" or, as the opposing union called them, "secular" schools. An unsectarian school, according to the League,¹ "was one in which the teaching of catechism, creeds, and the theological tenets peculiar to particular sects" was prohibited. The reading of the Bible was to be purely optional in them, and in any case must be given "without sectarian note or comment." The decision as to the use of the Bible at all would lie with the local managers.

On the other hand, the Union had insisted upon "the inculcation of religious and moral truth; whilst care be taken that denominational teaching be not imposed upon children without the wishes of the parents." "In denominational schools

with 1871; on the contrary, a large number were opened during the next two decades, and, in spite of the number which passed into the care of school boards or were abandoned in favour of their schools, some thirteen hundred seem to have still remained in 1897.

¹ Mr. Dixon at Birmingham, October 12, 1869.

receiving government aid a conscience clause [should] be insisted upon.”¹

In view of the debate between the supporters of league and union, which made its appearance at the British Society’s annual meeting of 1870, introduced there by representatives of both bodies, it is interesting to recall the words of Lord John (at this time Earl) Russell on the same occasion. “Now the first principle of all,” he said, speaking of the society,² “was that we should introduce religion into our teaching and that the Bible should be the foundation of that teaching. For my part, I cannot consider a young man educated if he has not received religious instruction. He may read and write well, be well versed in arithmetic, geography, history, and other subjects—but that is instruction; and I certainly should not call the person whose attainments were limited to these an educated man, unless at the same time he had fixed in his mind the principles of the Christian religion. That is the principle of the society, and that principle, whatever the Legislature may do, we are bound to carry out. Another principle is, that we have from the first founded our religious teaching on the Bible, laying aside all catechisms and formularies.

“The Bible comes from God, and conveys to us the Word of God and the mind of God; but the catechisms and formularies have been adopted from time to time by men, according to the passions or circumstances of the time. They convey the opinions, the learning, and the sentiments, but also the faults and passions, of the times in which they were formed. . . .

“It is for that, among other reasons, that we ought to separate altogether from our teaching in the schools those lessons which are conveyed in the catechism and formularies of the Established Church of England and all other churches, as having been framed in times of passion and conflict, and

¹ Programme of the National Education Union.

² *Ed. Rec.* viii. pp. 108-9.

limit ourselves to the inspired Word of the Almighty which we have in our Bible. Those were the principles on which this society was founded; and if they were good in 1808 they are equally good in 1870. I trust, therefore, that we shall not in any way depart from them, or from the rules the society has laid down."

Again, speaking at Plymouth in October, the secretary, Mr. Bourne, said:—

"The British and Foreign School Society had been for the past sixty-two years labouring, as strenuously as its supporters would enable it, to extend education to all classes, especially to the poor, irrespective of all political and religious differences—an education which was based upon the Bible, which recognised the use of the Bible in schools, and, while forbidding the introduction of anything which was likely to cause disputes, gave practical instruction out of it. The British and Foreign School Society had always held education would be incomplete if the Bible were shut out of the schools. It had also been a leading principle of the society that no human interpretation of the Bible ought to be upheld in any school as an *authoritative one*. Above all, they held that no catechism, creed, or other formula ought to be introduced which would give predominance to any one section of the Church or of the people."

From the beginning of its work the British Society had aimed in the first place at providing a religious education for the poor. They had been actuated in this not by condescension or patronage but by a true philanthropy, and by a deep sense of the demands of social justice. The poor were the wards of the rich, the weak of the strong; and wealth and strength ought to be employed in the service of society as a whole. The question was not so much, I think, whether or not the poor had the right to be educated, but whether or not the welfare of the community would be increased by their education. Considered from this point of view, by men who were themselves

essentially religious, the problem was not how to educate a boy or girl for his or her greatest individual success and happiness in life; but rather how to fit him and her for the life and the tasks of citizenship. It was for this reason that the Bible was regarded as essential to education, and for this reason that the society always refused to cut the knot of the religious problem with the knife of secularism, preferring to continue the arduous task of creating that religious attitude among its teachers which should preclude a merely sectarian influence upon the children under their care.

Logically, it may be said, they were in error; there may be no logical middle course between the denominational and the secular school; but the fact remains that, use it as you can and criticise it as you must, the Bible did and does provide the best available basis for religious instruction in schools, if it is put into the hands of a broad-minded and earnest teacher who knows his business. And here let it be added that the society has always stood for the two together, the Bible and the teacher, and has never been contented to separate them. It has always laid the same stress upon the religious character of the teacher's position and task as upon the religious nature of true education. And I do not for a moment admit that there is anything really illogical in this broad attitude of the society on the religious question. It is of course more easily misunderstood than appreciated, even by those who seek to expound it. But so long as the Bible remains for earnest men and women the chief source of inspiration for their mature life, the chief storehouse of spiritual food and suggestion—so long as it holds a pre-eminent place among all books or collections of books that have ever been compiled as the record of revelation, the indication of the supreme purpose of human life, and the guide to the highest of all laws—so long it will continue to be regarded as the essential basis of any education worthy of the name, and especially as the chief manual for that moral instruction upon which the citizenship of the future must depend.

But if the Bible is so regarded, it must be taught in this spirit: not as a book of magic or of ritual, not as a necessarily accurate record of historical events, nor as a compendium of metaphysical truth; but as the greatest poem which the Holy Spirit of Truth has hitherto inspired in any nation of the human race, and our most precious literary inheritance.

CHAPTER X

THE NORMAL COLLEGES

The Religious Training of Students—Stockwell College built—Retirement of Mrs. MacRae—Increased Demand for Teachers—Darlington and Swansea Colleges—Women Teachers—Burdens of Government—New Trusts—Large Claims and Small Resources—The Kindergarten Experiment at Stockwell—Miss Heerwart—Saffron Walden built—Work at Borough Road—Music—College Functions—Religious Work.

THE religious task set before the British Society by its founders had been nowhere more clearly recognised than in its training college at Borough Road. It is hardly necessary to recall the figure of Lancaster himself, its first head, or of Fox and Allen, to remind ourselves of the atmosphere which surrounded the place from its beginning. It has been already remarked that the earlier students regarded themselves, and were expected to regard themselves, as missionaries. This was not without its perils; and probably zeal sometimes outran discretion, while a certain exclusiveness may have found its way into the training school. Men like Mr. Dunn—with the support of the committee—may have been over careful in selecting students from among those only whose religious views were vouched for as comparatively orthodox, in their anxiety to avoid unprofitable disputes upon religious questions which they themselves regarded as no longer open to question.

There was doubtless a period when the Unitarian student, for example, would have found himself in an atmosphere foreign to his traditions; but in spite of this and in spite of the evangelical colour of the earnest religious convictions of many of the men and women who were in charge of the training department, there can be no question that the atmosphere was a wholesome and stimulating one, calculated to produce teachers

whose religion would make itself felt, not merely in the Bible lesson, but in every hour of the school-life. This point need not be laboured; there is plenty of evidence for it in the records of the society's work; and even after the changes consequent on the admission of queen's scholars, in the fifties, the Bible lessons at Borough Road continued to occupy a place of the greatest importance in the life of the students there.¹

It is but natural, then, that, the religious teaching in the British school depending upon the attitude of the teacher, and this department being regarded as of supreme importance by the society, the supply of properly trained teachers who carried the hall-mark of Borough Road inspiration upon them became the chief business of the committee. Wherever new fields were opened up to unsectarian education teachers must be trained and, if possible, provincial or special colleges established. But it seemed even more important that the central general establishment should be made as efficient as possible.

Reference has been made already to the founding of Bangor College for forty, afterwards seventy, men in North Wales. In August 1859, the foundation stone of the new women's college in London was laid by the Earl of Granville, in the absence of Prince Albert whose strong personal interest in education is

¹ The principals of the Borough Road Normal School were Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cornwell, 1839-56; Mr. J. G. Fitch, 1856-63; Mr. J. C. Curtis, 1863-88; Mr. P. A. Barnett, 1889-93; Mr. Withers, 1893-1900; Mr. Burrell, 1900-.

The chief lady officers on the girls' side and later, at Stockwell, were Miss Springman (Mrs. MacRae), 1817-61; Miss Scott, 1861-66; Miss Steele, 1866-83; Miss Manley, 1884-; the last named being "vice-principal" in 1890, and principal in 1892.

Mr. Bourne was general superintendent of the colleges at Borough Road, Stockwell, and Saffron Walden till his decease. He was also "principal" at Stockwell, 1870-92; at Darlington, 1872-78; at Swansea, 1872-75; at Saffron Walden, 1884-94. At the last-named college, Miss Dunlop, who succeeded Miss Steele in 1891—Miss Steele having gone to Saffron Walden in 1884—was given the title of principal in 1894. The then assistant secretary, Mr. Fellows, was nominal principal at Stockwell for a short period in 1869-70. Mr. Bourne is succeeded in the general superintendency by Mr. W. P. Williams, the present secretary, who entered the society's service in 1870, only two years later than Mr. Bourne.

well known. It is described as being situated on the high road to Clapham, and is in the present Stockwell Road, still retaining an air of semi-rurality in contrast to the grim aspect and surroundings of Borough Road. At midsummer 1861 it was publicly opened by Lord John Russell.¹ Already seventy-five students had removed from Borough Road, and the new building, providing for another twenty-five, was by this time full. A practising school for girls and infants had been attached on the old premises. The children continued to be taught in Borough Road, but new practising schools were now established at Stockwell, the infants' school being supplemented in 1864-65 by the introduction of a kindergarten.²

On the transfer of the students from Borough Road to Stockwell, one of the oldest friends of the society passed out of its service. Mrs. MacRae, feeling the weight of her seventy-four years, then resigned, being succeeded by Miss Scott. Her own life had been identified with the Lancasterian movement. She seems to have entered Lancaster's "family" when she was nineteen, and to have acted as monitor-general on the girls' side of the school. Five years later, 1811, she was organising new schools in the provinces—work which was also allotted to her future husband³—and with the formation of the ladies' committee in 1814 she was again employed in the work both in the midlands and the north. But her principal service was in the training of teachers, which probably commenced in earnest on the building of the new Borough Road premises, in 1817.

Personal reminiscences show her to us as a bright, attractive, quick-witted little old lady, of quiet dignity, power, and resource. A favourite with her students, her natural charm and

¹ The name of Mr. Wilks, at this time secretary of the society, will always be associated with the Stockwell College, for whose success he worked untiringly. The buildings seem to have cost nearly £24,000.

² Miss Heerwart, the apostle of the new system, had come to England in 1861.

³ That she married a Mr. Kenneth MacRae is clear; I presume it was the gentleman here alluded to.

kindliness was never to be taken advantage of, for she was possessed of shrewd insight into character and capacity, and a strong vein of common-sense. Add to these qualities her ability for organisation, acknowledged in her earlier days by the public presentation of a gold medal by one of the royal dukes, and the great success of her long career will readily be understood.

In 1827, she seems to have married her old friend and associate Kenneth MacRae, who had held an appointment in India since his early travels with Lancaster, and was now once more in London. For many years she continued to live in the house; but in 1843 she removed with her husband and only child to Camberwell, returning upon his death, ten years later, to take up again her old post as head and matron of the girls' side and mistress of the school. In the latter work she had an able lieutenant in Miss Tomlinson; while her actual teaching of the students was confined to an invaluable hour on Saturday mornings, when she held a quite informal class on school management, sharing with them her wide experience of the problems of school-life, of relations with parents, and the organisation of new schools.

On her retirement in 1861 she withdrew to Monkwearmouth in Durham, where her daughter was married. Upon the representations of Mr. Fitch, Lord Palmerston granted her a pension of £50 a year for her service to the cause of popular education, and an equal annuity was voted her by the British School Society. She died in May 1870 at the age of eighty-three.¹

It was Forster's Education Act which suggested the next efforts in college building. The phenomenal multiplication of undenominational schools which followed the promulgation of the new law made the need for more training colleges of a similar character only too apparent. Allowing a hundred scholars for every certificated teacher, at least 15,000 new

¹ Information in minutes, and a letter of Louisa (Scott) Jackson.

teachers were needed to staff the schools which the population then required. And if these were to be supplied during the next five years, at the rate of 3000 a year, besides maintaining the existing staff, either the total accommodation of all the training colleges must be more than doubled, or a large number of untrained teachers must be taken into the profession.¹ But these 15,000 new teachers would be principally required for unsectarian schools, and the yearly output of the colleges maintained by the British Society stood at this time at little more than 150. It can hardly then be surprising that, as soon as the Education Department expressed its approval, the committee resolved upon the enlargement of Borough Road and Stockwell colleges, and the provision of two new training centres for women in the provinces. Thus the society could report in 1873 that five ² of the thirty-seven existing training colleges were conducted on its system, providing accommodation for more than one-seventh of the 2800 students then in training.

The college at Swansea was opened in certain premises in Nelson Terrace which had already served a similar purpose.³ These had been occupied for some twenty years by the remnant of that normal college for Wales formerly founded at Brecon in 1845-46 and in 1849 transferred to Swansea. Its committee had stalwartly refused to accept government aid, but had not received adequate voluntary support.

Considerable discussion had taken place both in committee and at meetings of northern subscribers upon the best site for the establishment of the Northern College. Over a long period the society had been closely associated with work in Manchester, where its northern agency had had its depôt and headquarters; and Liverpool, Leeds, and Newcastle each offered special attractions. But the generosity of the Pease family, who had

¹ *Educational Record*, July 1871.

² Including Bangor.

³ Salmon in *Educational Record*, xvi. p. 156.

already established some twenty schools on the society's principles in the district, turned the scale in favour of Darlington.¹ It was very largely due to their donations and guarantee that the new venture in that quarter was promptly entered upon and successfully carried through.

The winter of 1871-72 was especially marked as a period of rapid changes. Large alterations were nearing completion at Borough Road when, in December, a disastrous fire destroyed a block of dormitories at the rear and the students' dining-room. Fortunately no life was lost, though the fire broke out at night and spread rapidly. The disaster delayed progress, and, occurring the day before the Christmas certificate examinations, was exceedingly embarrassing; but the students' success in these does not appear to have been affected. The additions to the college when completed made room for thirty more students—130 in all—providing for a dining-room, infirmary, teachers' common room, and laboratory, as well as the remodelling of the Practising School.

Stockwell College was also similarly increased to accommodate twenty-three new students; while the new normal schools at Darlington and Swansea, opened in February, provided for fifty and forty-five students respectively.

But these last two colleges were still housed in merely temporary premises. The defect was remedied in April 1876, when, on the 8th, Lord Aberdare and Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. W. Pease, M.P., opened the new buildings at Darlington capable of accommodating seventy-five resident students,² erected and furnished at a total cost of some £17,000; while at Swansea, on the 19th, the mayor opened a new wing containing lecture hall, committee room, and dormitories, built

¹ Building grants were no longer made; hence the funds had to be entirely raised by subscription.

² Mr. Bourne was principal from 1872-78, with Mr. J. Langton as resident (vice-principal); Miss Smallbones became lady principal 1878-80; and Mr. and Mrs. Spafford have been principal and vice-principal since that time. In 1903 the college was extended to take 107 students in all.

upon leasehold premises and affording room for a total of fifty-five students. At the commencement of the same year further improvements had also been effected at Stockwell, including the addition of a model kindergarten for forty infants and the leasing of a house for a kindergarten college, representing a department of work which was afterwards transferred to Saffron Walden. But to this we must return later.

The normal-training work of the society had thus grown very considerably during the eighteen years from 1858 to 1876. From the single establishment at Borough Road it had now extended to five separate centres, including that at Bangor, while the number of students in training had risen from 134¹ on the lists April 1, 1858, to 434 in 1875. But since the term of training had been in the meantime definitely increased to two years, the actual number who completed their course annually was only doubled. It will be observed that the three new colleges at Stockwell, Darlington, and Swansea were all for women teachers, for whom the demand was especially urgent.

These additions to the society's work and power for usefulness would have fallen as a heavy burden on the central committee had it attempted to support them alone. In the case of Bangor it only initiated the enterprise, which was carried out by a body of local supporters; but it continued the salary of its agent there while he was raising the necessary funds and until he became principal of the college.

The care of the Swansea college was at first entrusted to a sub-committee consisting of certain members of the general committee resident in or near that place, with Mr. Bourne as secretary and principal. But this was a provisional arrangement only; the great distance made it impossible, even nominally, to conduct the business of the college from London; and at the end of 1875 the control passed into the hands of a

¹ With fourteen others in temporary premises at Bangor.

separate body, Lord Aberdare, Mr. Hugh Owen, and Mr. Hussey Vivian, M.P., being among the trustees; while Mr. L. L. Dillwyn, M.P., was chairman of the new committee which consisted of forty-two members, six being nominated by the British Society. Mr. David Williams took Mr. Bourne's place as principal.

A somewhat similar change was effected two years later at Darlington, where the committee was thenceforward elected by the supporters of the British Society resident in the six northern counties (the secretary and treasurer of the society being *ex officio* members), and these, with the eight trustees, formed the governing body.¹

But if the London committee was thus relieved of certain local obligations, it undertook during this period a number of minor trusts, in addition to that of the Corby Schools already accepted under the will of Mr. Rowlett. These were the Northfleet, Hermitage, and Herolds' Schools and the Shakespeare's Walk and Neale Exhibition Funds, entrusted to the society from time to time.

The several elementary schools call first for mention. Those at Corby (Northants) were built by Mr. Rowlett, opened as early as May 1834, and placed by him under direction of the London committee. The Northfleet (Kent) British School was established by Mr. George Sturge in 1869, and transferred to the society seven years later. The Hermitage School, Birkenhead, established by Mr. Francis Morton in 1865, passed into its care in 1881. The remaining schools of the Herolds' Charity belong to a more ancient foundation. An endowment for the poor children of Southwark created in 1726 eventually produced sufficient money to establish from the proceeds a school of three departments; but the income at a later time not being adequate to maintain them, and the trustees declining to apply for government aid, the enterprise

¹ A special general meeting held on May 16, 1878, granted power to the London committee thus to delegate its local duties.

seems to have languished. However, in 1877 the schools passed into the hands of the British Society, which was, as we know, free from such scruples.

The care of the property represented by these schools was duly placed in charge of trustees—and in the case of the last named of a board of governors—as were also the two exhibition funds which remain to be described. These were transferred to the society by order of the Queen in Council and the Charity Commissioners in 1878 and 1882 respectively.

The earlier, the Shakespeare's Walk Fund, was established in 1712 "from a zeal for the maintenance of religion and religious liberty," and had been used for "the useful education" of a large number of boys in Shadwell, until the school room was closed and the premises purchased by the London Docks Company. The property of the fund amounted to some £7000, producing an income of £210, a part of which became available in exhibitions for students at the Borough Road College.

The Neale Exhibition Fund, which was of the annual value of about £45, was applicable to the training of Welsh pupil-teachers for British schools in the British Society's colleges; and two annual exhibitions have in this way been established.

At one time it seemed probable that another and much larger responsibility might be entrusted to the committee. In July 1876, Samuel Morley, who had now, after many years, returned to his office of vice-president of the society, asked for a conference between the committee and those responsible for the Homerton Congregational College upon the prospective retirement of its principal, Dr. Unwin.¹ A tentative proposal was made for the transfer of the college to the British School Society; and in March 1877 a special sub-committee reported favourably upon the suggestion, but favoured the use of the college exclusively for women students. The proposals, however, came to nothing. Old students and others rallied

¹ See Note to Chapter VIII.

about the college, which was in due time removed to Cambridge. The failure of the Homerton proposals was a source of grave disappointment, for the committee continued to feel how inadequate were its efforts to fulfil its responsibility in the training of teachers for undenominational schools.

The report for 1878 notes the rapid increase in school accommodation. From 1871 to 1876 the increase in the number of children of school age, from three to fifteen, had been 414,000; but in the same period school accommodation had been increased by 1,414,000. In a subsequent report the committee observes with anxiety the rapid rise in the number of certificated teachers who were without college training. From 1873 to 1878 some 9000 students had received their certificates; but during the same period nearly 14,000 others had also been admitted to the profession. On this matter of the proper education of the teacher the committee memorialised the Education Department, representing the desirability either of more severe examination or wider experience before the granting of certificates to acting teachers, and recommending the liberation of pupil-teachers for more adequate private study and recreation, "by the employment of monitors or otherwise."¹

In the 1881 report, the committee declared that more than one-third of the 31,000 certificated teachers in the country had never been to college, while 41,000 were still uncertificated, and presumably hoped in time to pass into the other class. Considering that only about 1500 could pass each year through existing training colleges, it was not to be wondered that the proportion of the untrained was continually increasing; but it was not the less to be regretted, for in the majority of cases their preparation was altogether insufficient.

Yet the committee had regretfully to acknowledge that it dared attempt no new work with its limited financial resources. At this time its net income, applicable to general purposes and

¹ Report, 1880, p. 13.

apart from government grants and special gifts, bequests, and charities, consisted of some £1300 in subscriptions and donations, and a similar sum derived from dividends and interest, with some smaller amounts, not exceeding £3000 in all. The expenses included an annual charge of nearly £2000 for the several schools and colleges, leaving perhaps £1000 for all other general purposes.

This being their situation, it is the more remarkable that during this period the British School Society should have done more than any other body to introduce the kindergarten system of Froebel into this country.

As is well known, following out his principle of spontaneity or play as the proper basis of education, Froebel instituted his first kindergarten at Blankenburg in Thuringia in 1840, while it was first introduced into England—in London and Manchester—in 1854. But it was not till the time that Miss E. Heerwart came to Stockwell that the reform can really be said to have taken root in this country.¹ In the report for 1865, however, it is briefly stated that “the ‘ Kindergarten ’ system has recently been introduced ” into the Stockwell Infant School,

¹ In *Froebel's Letters*, edited by Madame Michaelis and Mr. H. K. Moore (1891), the English editors print a useful appendix on the extension of the system in England (pp. 201-8). It was introduced by Madame Ronge, a pupil of Froebel, who opened her school in Fitzroy Square in 1854, transferred it to Miss Praetorius, and then formed the Manchester Kindergarten Association. In 1861, Miss Heerwart, who had been trained under Middendorf at Keilhau, came to Manchester: she went on to Belfast in 1864 and to Dublin, 1866. Finally she returned to Weimar in 1883. The Baroness Adèle de Portugal also went to Manchester about 1861. Five years later Miss Doreck established her school in Kildare Gardens. She was afterwards first president of the Froebel Society. In 1874, a notable year, Madame Michaelis also came to England; Miss Bishop was appointed lecturer to the teachers of infants' schools under the London School Board; and the several ladies named above with Miss Manning and Professor Joseph Payne formed the Froebel Society in November. Miss Sherriff became president in 1877. Examinations of teachers were first held in 1876. Three years later a training college was opened in Tavistock St., and transferred to the Maria Grey Training College in 1883. The centennial celebration of Froebel's birth was held at Stockwell in 1882, Mr. W. Woodall, M.P., presiding. The National Froebel Union was formed in 1888, and held examinations under a joint board, of which Mr. Bourne was chairman till 1890. The Froebel Society was incorporated in 1891.

conducted by Miss Ryder ; and in the next report it is described as being " not only an interesting variety to the school employment, but a valuable means of training to the eye and hand. The portion of time allotted to it is anticipated with special pleasure, and is used as a healthy stimulus to attention, and a recognised mode of punishing inattention "—the last statement I leave to the reader's consideration.

It was not, however, until 1874 that any propagandist work was undertaken. Then, upon relinquishing her private kindergarten in Dublin and on her homeward journey, Fräulein Heerwart, a member of the Froebel Society of Germany, was engaged for three months to lecture to the second-year students at Stockwell and to give classes to students. A *conversazione*, presided over by Sir Charles Reed, chairman of the London School Board—which had just appointed a lecturer on the system—was held at the college in September 4 to inaugurate the new experiment. A temporary model kindergarten was then established in the college gymnasium. Miss Heerwart having with others founded the English Froebel Society in November, a further demonstration was given in the following February, when Mr. Bourne, who had also aided in founding the society and took the keenest interest in its work, declared the anxiety of his committee that Froebel's own system should be thoroughly understood and taught, instead of some mere misrepresentation of it.¹

A year later, the kindergarten was installed in new rooms capable of accommodating a model school of forty ; while in the previous January a separate house, 21 Stockwell Road, had been taken on lease, as a Kindergarten College and practising school. At this time some sixteen students and acting teachers were studying under Miss Heerwart.² By May 1877 twenty teachers had been trained. The training occupied

¹ I imagine that the kindergarten at Stockwell from 1864-74 was only partially Froebellian.

² Report, 1876, 1877.

two years, and a fee was charged both to students and scholars with the object of rendering this department self-supporting.

Although the work accomplished seems to have been thorough and efficient, the number of students decreased, and in 1881 was only nine, with seven additional acting teachers; while three only had remained to complete their courses and receive certificates.

In July 1883, the society's experiment terminated, with the transfer of the institution to private management and the return of Miss Heerwart to Germany. The closing ceremonies on the 19th included a presentation to her. In the course of the evening a letter was read from Mr. Fitch declaring that in his opinion the great improvement observable in infant school teaching was chiefly due to the work at Stockwell and to her.

The total cost of the experiment from 1876 to 1883 amounted to £400 for alterations and fitting up of premises, and this was met by special donations. During its course 42 teachers had received full training, while 47 others had been in residence for shorter periods, and 92 mothers, nurses, and acting teachers had attended evening classes.

The work at 21 Stockwell Road, however, represents only part of that accomplished; for both at the Stockwell Infants' and at the Herolds' Schools such parts of the system were introduced as could be admitted into schools under government inspection, with excellent results. In July 1880 the society was represented on a deputation which waited upon its vice-president, Mr. Mundella, then Vice-President of the Council, to urge the claims of the system to recognition under the Education Department. The appeal proved successful. Mr. Mundella showed himself much interested in the work at Stockwell, and in 1882 introduced a clause that all infants' schools must make provision for "appropriate and varied occupations" into his new Code.¹

¹ The part taken by the society in the reforms associated with the name of Froebel does not stand alone, though it remains the most

Although the experiment had been conducted on a small scale it had attracted wide interest; and when the committee received the anonymous offer of a new college, in October 1880, and Mr. Mundella, in reply to an inquiry, suggested its being equipped for the training of infant school mistresses, they resolved to set it apart for this purpose.

The story of the kindergarten at Stockwell has thus led up to the last great college-building enterprise of the period, an enterprise due to the generosity of Mr. George Stacey Gibson of Saffron Walden. This munificent friend of the society gave £10,000 and the site for the college, while further gifts were added by his widow. The beautiful building of red brick, timber, and rough cast, which was designed by Mr. Edward Burgess, provided accommodation for fifty students, and was publicly opened by Sir T. Fowell Buxton on May 17, 1884, John Bright being prevented by illness. Already some forty students were in residence, and in the following January the college had its full complement. It had attached to it a small practising school, but the attendance proving insufficient, the students made use of the elementary schools in the town, except for the purpose of kindergarten work.¹ The government of the college is in the hands of a special committee appointed by the general committee in London.

With the completion of Saffron Walden College the society had provided for the training of 514 students in all—of whom 325 were women and 189 were men—or four times as many as they could accommodate twenty-eight years earlier. Considering that during this quarter of a century the quality and scope of the instruction had correspondingly developed, we may fairly important example of its living interest in educational progress. The committee had shown itself alive to the importance of the metrical system in 1870—though it proved insensible to the charms of spelling reform—and took its share in the great exhibitions of the period. It was also especially interested in self-help developments, like those of the education aid societies in Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere, which sprang up in the later sixties.

¹ For the further work of the British Society in nationalising the kindergarten system, see Chapter XIII.

say that the society's work had been carried forward with remarkable success.

Before concluding this chapter some reference must be made to the character of the instruction, and to the internal life of Borough Road.

It is difficult to estimate development of this kind. But two extracts from the report of 1870 will give an impression of the work then being done at the college. The first is from the report of Dr. Morell, her Majesty's inspector.

"The regular course of instruction remains, as before, in the hands respectively of Mr. Curtis, the principal, Mr. Smith, the vice-principal, and Mr. Barkby, the resident tutor. So frequent a testimony has been borne in past years to the ability and zeal with which these all perform the several duties devolving upon them that I need only add, at present, that their exertions for the sound instruction of their students continue unabated and quite as effective as ever.

"A principal portion of our present duty in connection with the annual inspection of training schools is to hear all the students both of the first and second year read and recite from memory, and to hear all the latter give a model lesson on some subject previously selected and arranged. This duty, in the case of the Borough Road, devolved last November on Mr. Brodie, who has furnished me with the following record of his impressions in regard to the manner in which these respective exercises were performed:—

" 'My few remarks,' he writes, 'are confined to the results of training, as disclosed by the reading and recitation of the students, and in the lessons given by them. Of the former, viz., the reading and recitation, I can honestly speak with great satisfaction. The reading struck me as decidedly good throughout, of some few students strikingly good. The pieces chosen for recitation were well selected from good English poets, and were of considerable variety. They were for the most part very well known, and effectively but simply recited.

" 'The lessons given were on every variety of subject,

generally well arranged, and often admirably illustrated. The classes of boys, drawn from the model school, to whom they were addressed, were kept in good order, and their attention well sustained. The criticism lesson, though a fair performance, least satisfied me of all that I heard. The criticism, however, on the lesson afterwards was lively and practical. I believe the students chose by lot who should give the lesson, and some of them doubtless would have done better than the one selected.'

"The college continues to deserve the reputation for efficiency which it has long enjoyed, and which, it is to be hoped, it will maintain for many years to come."

The second refers to the use made by students of the practising school, then—1870—under Mr. Langton's care.

"1. Students from the training college enter the practising schools by divisions, and remain a fortnight. These divisions are so arranged as to insure to the first-year students two fortnights of school work every year, and to the second-year students one fortnight. The students of the second year, however, are generally called upon to take the place of masters of local schools for short periods, and in this case are exempted from attendance in the practising schools.

"2. Immediately on entering the schools each student is placed with a section of scholars, and assists the pupil-teacher of that section in all the various portions of his work. In this way the students give collective lessons in the galleries, teach in the drafts and desks, help to make up the registers, and superintend, in turn, the school changes and manual exercises. In all these proceedings, they are under the inspection of the head master.

"3. Each junior student, during his stay in the practising schools, is required to prepare full notes of several collective lessons and to give those lessons under the observation of the head master.

"4. Notes are taken of the attendance, conduct, and of the governing and teaching power of the students as shown by them while in the practising schools; and from these notes a report concerning each student is drawn up by the

head master, and entered in a book which is prepared and kept for that purpose.

"5. At the commencement of every year several specimen lessons are given before the new students by the head master of the practising schools, at which the principal of the college is always present. These lessons are intended to exhibit the most approved methods of teaching.

"6. On Tuesday and Friday afternoons each student in turn gives a collective lesson in presence of the students and the principal of the college. The students afterwards criticise these lessons, in the theatre of the college, before the principal, who afterwards delivers a lecture on school management to the students.

"7. On Wednesday mornings six of the second-year students give collective lessons in the practising schools under the observation of the principal, who takes notes during the progress of the lessons as to the merits and faults exhibited by the teachers, and gives suitable instructions at the close of the exercise."

In 1877 the committee itself reports on the subjects of instruction in the society's colleges beyond those of the Bible, domestic work, and calisthenics, grouping them as follows:—

"1. School management and teaching.

"2. Reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, grammar and composition, history, geography, Euclid, economy, needle-work, and singing—which may be looked upon as elementary subjects.

"3. The third group comprises the French and Latin languages, mathematics, chemistry, animal physiology, botany, physical geography, and second grade drawing, in its five branches, freehand, geometrical, model, perspective, and memory.

"The first and second groups embrace the subjects which are studied throughout the colleges, except that Euclid and political economy are confined to the Borough Road, and domestic economy to Stockwell and Darlington.

"Of the third group, where more choice is allowed, both as regards the institution and the individual students, drawing is taught at all the colleges; Latin, mathematics, mechanics,

chemistry, and physiology at the Borough Road; French, physiology, and botany at Stockwell; and French, physiology, botany, and physical geography at Darlington.

"Facilities are also given for the study of Latin and German at Darlington, though there are no students at present, and of French at Borough Road.

"Thanks to the form in which the results of the examination are sent to us from the Education Department, it is possible to ascertain, in a way which, though not absolutely certain, is sufficiently correct for the purpose, what efficiency is secured in reference to each of these groups of subjects.

"The first column of the following table shows the proportion per cent. of the whole number of students presented who gained the mark excellent or good; the second, the percentage of those who did fairly; the third, the percentage of those who fell below fair:—

	Excellent or good.	Above fair.	Below fair.
Third group—extra and optional subjects . . .	39.3	43.3	17.3
Second group—elementary subjects . . .	59.4	31.1	9.3
First group—teaching and school management	73.6	25.6	0.6

"This table, your committee believe, shows that the intellectual work of the college is being done well, and with a due sense of the relative importance of the subjects studied.

"As to moral and spiritual results, no such table can be given. No examination would suffice, save that of the Great Master Himself whose eye follows everywhere, and sees all that is hidden and in process of growth. Your committee can point to daily worship of a simple kind, to daily reading and study of the Bible, to prayer meetings kept up by the students, to a temperance society, and a Christian association at Borough Road, and to the general good conduct of the students at all the colleges. In some cases the signs of a good and true heart have not been as conspicuous as might be desired; and there has been one expulsion during the year; but your committee believes that the discipline of freedom is wholesome, and that the overwhelming majority of the students go from the institutions better in every sense of the word than they were when they entered."

Expulsions and other regrettable incidents were occasionally

inevitable; and after the most serious of these in 1878, when three young men were expelled for absenting themselves from dinner to supper without leave, "it was resolved to put bars and gates on the stair-cases leading to the dormitories at Borough Road College." In palliation of their offence we may perhaps remark that this occurred in the month of June, when who would not be fain to remove himself out of bounds and leave the dull precincts of the Borough Road far behind?

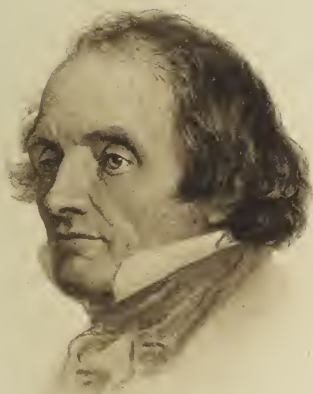
Further extenuation may perhaps be found for the riotous condition of the young men. It is noticeable that the offence followed promptly upon the expenditure of £30 on stringed instruments for Borough Road. Is it not possible that the fiddle-practice, the absenting themselves of young men without leave, and the bars and gates upon the dormitory stair-cases had some relation to one another?

The mention of the string band recalls important changes consequent on the gradual adoption of music as a part of the teachers' training. As far back as 1842 Mr. Hullah had held demonstration classes for teachers in theoretical and vocal music at Exeter Hall. Thirty years later, when music had been admitted as an extra subject, he examined the Borough Road students for the first time with good results; while in 1873 a piano and pianino seem to have been acquired for use at Borough Road and Darlington.¹

Other important changes at Borough Road included the erection of a new laboratory for inorganic chemistry with accommodation for sixty-eight students in 1880, and the engagement about the same time of a drill sergeant, Quaker traditions notwithstanding.² Even more interesting is the extension of

¹ I see that text-books in music and singing are mentioned in the Borough Road and Stockwell Reports for 1871.

² The attitude of the society towards the recent attempts to graft the beginnings of militarism upon elementary education is admirably suggested in the following sentence by an editorial writer in the *Educational Record* (xvi. p. 255) for February 1903:—"The full training of the individual according to his capacities should not give way to any meaner aim, whether national or commercial."



Jas. Furber.
Russell

*Reproduced by permission from an unpublished portrait by J. Russell
possession of the Munro's Countess Russell, at 10, St. James's Place, London.*

the department of school management at Borough Road by the introduction of lectures on psychology by Mr. James Sully in 1882.

The yearly college functions occupy much space in the pages of the *Educational Record*, and were often marked by notable addresses. But I can only now refer to two celebrations—the breakfasts at Borough Road on May 16, 1878, and December 29, 1880. On the former occasion, Dean Stanley presided, and presented to the society a portrait of Earl Russell painted by Mr. J. R. Dicksee, the drawing master of Borough Road. Earl Russell's death occurred about ten days later.

The second was of a different character; it was the reunion in the Memorial Hall of the college of some three hundred British teachers come to eat salt together in the old place. Initiated by the British Teachers' Association, which had been in existence some sixty years, the meeting was held by invitation of the committee. A special sermon was preached for their benefit by Dean Stanley in the Abbey before breakfast; and Mr. Mundella presided at that function. Mr. Fitch, in his subsequent address, spoke of his old association with the college, and added, "it has been my duty [as an inspector] to visit all parts of the country and to see schools of all kinds. I find old Borough Road students at the heads of the greatest of our elementary schools. . . . Wherever I go I find three characteristics of Borough Road men. I find, in the first place, an intellectual life and vigour which distinguishes them as a rule from others I know. . . . There is a certain enthusiasm, a certain intellectual brightness, what one may call a certain 'go,' which seems to me mostly to characterise Borough Road men. The second characteristic¹ . . . is a great facility . . . in the handling of large numbers. . . . And the third . . . is an affectionate loyalty to the institution. I have noticed their eyes always kindle when they come to

¹ These two characteristics the speaker regarded as largely due to the growth of the college "out of the school," not *vice versa*.

identify me with this college, and to be reminded of the place in which they received their training."

An interesting example of this loyalty was seen in the subscription of some £400¹ by teachers and old students after the disastrous fire of December 1871 towards the erection of the Memorial Hall at the college, in which this meeting was held, but it would be easy to multiply examples.

Another side of the college work and the relations between committee and teachers now calls for consideration. In the report of 1872 the committee declared that the aim of the society was "to educate the people, to quicken the flash of intelligence in the dull eye, to train to skilful action the uncultured hand, to nerve the mental powers, to purify the affections, to foster the germs of a higher life. Whatever will help to tear down the veil of ignorance, to introduce the children to the heaven and earth where are more things than their parents ever dreamt of, to start the men and women of a future generation from the vantage ground which has been so hardly won for them by centuries of toil and study and experience, receives a welcome, come whencesoever it may."

And referring to the religious controversy, they added:—

"We say to the teachers: Choose that which you can teach best. Be honest. Be true to your own nature. Teach what you know. Respect the convictions of others. Only make the little ones feel, as you can from any part of the Book, that the Father in Heaven loves His human children, that they are not, and never can be, alone in their efforts after living faith, personal purity, and true greatness."

Again referring to the same matter, in the minutes a year later² there is the record of a special meeting on Scripture instruction, which resolved that, at all the society's colleges there should be Bible reading morning and evening; with one hour a week devoted to the reading classes in Scripture

¹ Announced at a breakfast meeting, February 27, 1873.

² September 1873.

selections; there must be careful oversight of the students' practising lessons in this subject; and two hours must be devoted every week by each student to Bible history and geography.

The matter lay at this time so much upon the minds of the committee that they proposed to call a conference upon it; but in February 1874, "after a long discussion on the several points raised, it became manifest that there is no common ground between the advanced section of Nonconformists and the friends of Bible teaching in the schools."

The subject had been already broached in the *Educational Record*, which reprinted a protest from "one of the Nonconformist magazines" against the attitude of those advanced people who argued for exclusion; those in fact, headed by the Rev. R. W. Dale, who, about this time, were forming the Birmingham Religious Education Society, for the provision of religious teaching in board schools by special persons at certain hours. The scheme did not prove successful, and in December 1879 the Birmingham Board itself resolved that the Bible should be read daily in its schools.

Speaking of this change Mr. Frederick Seebohm said at the British Society's annual meeting, "They have a compromise now which I do not wish to disparage; it is the simple reading of the Bible without explanation. Then, entirely apart from this, there is a certain amount of teaching in morality. Now it seems to me these things want marrying." And he suggested that some teacher should compile a collection of Bible stories, "so placed that they might be made the basis, not only of simple moral and religious teaching, but also be the means of widening the children's minds even with regard to geography, history, and the like."

It may be of interest to quote here Mr. Mundella's statement made a little later:—

"I say it frankly, I rejoice that we have not divorced religious teaching from our schools. I rejoice that the British

school system, which has always advocated religious teaching as the basis of morality, is also the basis of our system of elementary education. I know you will all agree with me that the highest and the noblest motive with which you can inspire a child is that motto which I see inserted on these walls, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.'"¹

Again, in this connection, we cannot omit a noble passage from an address delivered in another part of the world by the Bishop of Melbourne. After describing the success of un-denominational teaching under the London School Board, he pointed to the same method as applicable to the needs of Victoria. "What we demand is that the moral and religious faculties of our children shall be educated, that moral and religious sensibilities shall be awakened in them; that they shall be accessible to moral appeal, responsive to religious stimulus, capable of understanding that Christian basis of instruction to which they will be called upon to listen in riper years. If this be done, then, holding as we do that the force of the truth which we believe is its own best evidence, we have no fears for the future."²

The bishop's assertion that the religious problem could be solved by practice is further evidenced by a fact to which we have not hitherto drawn attention. That is the denominational variety which made up the harmony of Borough Road. If the dominant personal influence in the movement had upon the whole been a Quaker influence, from the days of Lancaster and Allen onward even beyond the death of Robert Forster, the Quaker element had hardly been introduced into the *personnel* of the colleges. The principal of Borough Road has often been a member of the Established Church, and especially at Borough Road the proportion of Anglicans among the students has been larger than that of any other denomination. From 1871 to 1873 rather more than one-quarter of the students at all the society's colleges were members of the Church

¹ *Ed. Record*, xi. (December 1880), p. 27.

² Report, 1879.

of England, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Wesleyans following in number; and this proportion and order was usually kept, though sometimes the position of Baptists and Wesleyans was reversed. An emphatic declaration of the inclusiveness of the Borough Road College was made in June 1877, when the committee resolved "to admit students of every religious persuasion on exactly equal terms, provided they were able to conform to the requirements of the college."¹ This was intended to open the college to Mahommedans and Jews, though they had I think never been excluded.

¹ It may be of interest to add here that, in seeking admission to the college, candidates were expected to sign a paper declaring that they would regard teaching as Christian service, and would seek to teach the Bible without sectarian bias. They were also expected to offer a testimonial from the minister of the place of worship which they attended.

CHAPTER XI

AGENCY WORK

The Society's Agents—In the West—In London—In the North—Importance of their Work—The Depository—Affiliated Schools—Foreign Interests—Personal Changes.

WHILE the story of the normal colleges carried us somewhat beyond the limits of our period, it left several matters of interest in the work of the society still untouched, and to these we must now give attention. They include the general work of the society's inspectors, with the foreign interests and personal changes of these years.

As the voluntary public schools came more and more generally under government inspection a part of the society's work in this direction became unnecessary. But much remained to be done. Thus we find that in 1860 the society employed seven gentlemen, five in England and two in Wales, who that year visited some 1270 schools, held meetings, public examinations, and conferences with committees and parents, and presented careful and detailed reports of their work to the London committee. These annual reports afford an interesting view of educational progress in the several sections of the country. And even when, as in 1869, the number of inspectors and their visits had decreased, we have evidence of the great value attaching to their labours.

On retiring from the secretaryship of the society, Mr. Wilks¹ took up again for awhile the work of an inspector, which he had previously carried on with great success in Manchester and the

¹ Died in 1869.

north; and my first quotation must be from his report on going into the west country:—

“ The schools may be divided into three classes, [1] those in very large towns, such as Plymouth, Devonport, Bristol, etc., which, from their numbers and prestige, are always flourishing and are invariably under government inspection; [2] those in towns having a population of from 4000 to 5000, also under government inspection, and affording valuable and valued means of instruction to a most important class of the population, institutions, in fact, that appear essential to the well-being of the community among whom they are located. Some of these are really in village districts, and I had no idea how important a position they occupy and how great the good they effect.

“ Besides the foregoing there are schools [3] in smaller places not well supported and lacking efficient teaching. Among the promoters of these, however, there is a decided movement in advance, and I am continually called upon to give advice and assistance towards the accomplishment of this desirable object.

“ The value attached by the committees to the society’s inspection is unquestionable. In many cases I have followed up the school inspection by a conference with one, two, or more of the managers most interested, in this way correcting mistakes, offering suggestions, pointing out possible dangers or difficulties, adjusting financial arrangements, and suggesting educational improvements.”

Again, in the same year, Mr. Saunders, the London district agent, writes:—

“ To a great extent the present [1868-69] seems to be a period of transition from the entirely voluntary uninspected condition to that of inspection and grants on results from the Committee of Council. Especially is this the case with the schools in the small towns and villages. In almost every instance of this kind, the services of the society’s agent are required, or at

least sought after, by the managers of the local schools, either to explain the requirements and regulations of the Code, to answer questions as to the actual working of certain enactments, or to advise on courses of action, and generally to initiate official correspondence.

“ A good deal of time has often to be spent in explaining the exact nature and position of the society ; the relation in which it stands to the government ; the means by which it can aid most materially in benefiting the respective schools affiliated with it, and how all can unite most efficiently in the great cause which they are alike aiming to extend, viz., that of ‘ promoting the education of the labouring and manufacturing classes of society of every religious persuasion.’

“ A wide field of usefulness is to be found also in the help which can be afforded under the form of explanation, advice, and encouragement to teachers, especially young ones, under the new circumstances, or in the new positions, in which they find themselves placed.”

Finally I extract the following paragraphs from the long and very interesting report of Mr. Salter in the northern district, always so full of intellectual energy :—

“ I am glad to say that, broadly surveyed, the aspect of that part of the educational field which comes under my own observation is, upon the whole, decidedly satisfactory. Nearly all the schools I visit have now fully settled down to their work as regulated by the Code, most of them getting good results and good grants.¹ In addition to this I notice that the tone and spirit of the schools, as compared with what they were not long ago, exhibit gratifying marks of improvement. Mechanical drudgery, of which there must always fall a good share to the lot of every elementary teacher, is greatly relieved by the fuller employment of appropriate intellectual methods and by the increasing introduction, or rather, I should say, re-introduction

¹ It will be observed that progress in this direction was greatest in the north, and least in the western districts.

of what are commonly spoken of as the 'higher subjects.' Grammar, geography, drawing, practical geometry, and to a slight extent even collective lessons are again making themselves felt in the daily routine of the teacher's work, to the great satisfaction of all true educationalists, and to the manifest advantage of those personally concerned. There is now no room for fearing, as formerly, that any 'ambitious' schoolmaster will carry those subjects so far as to damage or neglect those which are essential and fundamental.

"It would be a source of pleasure could I report that the average age to which children stay at school appears to be rising. The contrary is, I fear, really the case. It is becoming more than ever necessary to meet the difficulty, on the one hand, by effecting every possible improvement in infant schools, and by encouraging to the utmost, on the other hand, the establishment and efficiency of evening schools."

After referring to science classes, he continues:—

"There is also another department in which the work of the agency is warmly appreciated, which does not appear in the tabulated statement, but which I will here mention as decidedly worthy of recognition. I refer to the sympathy and encouragement which, as the representative of the society, the agent often brings to the isolated and laborious British teacher. Other schools have usually the advantage of some clergyman or other leading person, with leisure and inclination, to call upon, consult with, advise, and cheer their respective teachers; the British schoolmaster has too often to complain that he is left alone, his committee being too busy with commercial activities to attend to his feelings or regard his labours. In such cases, were it not for the visits of the society's agent, words of counsel, sympathy, and appreciation would hardly ever reach the teacher's ears, while disgust and discouragement would be left to do their work, sapping too surely the energies, and frustrating the cherished purposes and objects of a life. It is evident that an influence of great worth and power is thus continually

exerted by the society in all parts of the country, and that a feeling of union, attachment, and respect is maintained and fostered between itself and that great body of energetic and able educators which it has been the instrument in a great measure of training and sending out."

The changes of the next few years, especially the appointment of government inspectors for all schools within limited districts, and the transfer of the responsibilities of initiative with regard to new schools to the school boards, still further reduced this department of the society's work. In 1870-71 there were only three districts, Wales, London, and the provinces, and the death of Mr. Salter in September further reduced the number. The work henceforward ceased to maintain its old systematic character, and with the death of Mr. Saunders in 1875 it became increasingly occasional, and devoted entirely to schools specially affiliated with the society.

The annual report for 1875 contains a list of fifty-two districts and correspondents, with the names of eleven visiting agents. But this apparent enlargement of machinery was really a device for lightening a diminishing responsibility.

The agency work became henceforward largely honorary, and its cost declined from £1000 in 1870, to £500 in 1872, and less than £300 in 1874 and subsequent years. That it did not entirely cease is evidenced by the fact that in 1883 £150 was expended on the inspection and examination of schools. But after that time the committee decided to close this branch of its work except on very special occasions.

It also decided to relinquish the depository, one of the original departments of Lancaster's scheme, which for some three-quarters of a century had rendered invaluable service to the movement by providing British and other schools with educational books and materials at cost price. It was now no longer needed; with the new demand for standard school-books and materials it became profitable to supply these on reasonable terms. Like the kindergarten establishment in the

Stockwell Road, this passed into private hands in the autumn of 1883.¹

Thus we find the third quarter of a century closing with the society's withdrawal from departments of work which it was no longer necessary that it should carry forward, in order that it might more steadily concentrate its efforts upon those which remained, and be prepared for new service and new developments.

With the passing of Forster's Bill, the British School Society resolved to form a body of affiliated schools, specially linked to itself by annual subscription on the one side, and on the other by the guarantee of aid in the supply of teachers, by the offer of reduced terms for school materials, and a free grant to new schools, by an annual visit from the society's inspector, and by the offer of reduced fees in the teachers' preparatory classes for certificate examination.²

It was hoped that the affiliation fees might go far to make the society's colleges independent of voluntary contributions; but the response fell far short of this golden anticipation. After 1874 inspection seems to have been practically confined to these schools. In 1880 there were about 180 of them in England, not counting those in Wales.

Turning to the wider field, we recall how at the beginning of the period the society was deeply interested in the condition of education in Wales; and note that, in the summer of 1860, a deputation waited upon the government to urge the claims of Dissenters in the principality, and to suggest some juster system of distributing grants.

In the next year's report is a notice of the death of Mrs. Dickson, who had been engaged for thirty years in the cause of the education of girls among the Ionian islanders; while news from Greece told of the prosperity of the Athens normal

¹ The branch depôts at Manchester and Bristol were closed in 1869 and 1873 respectively. (See Reports for those years.)

² Added 1871.

school, with its two hundred students under Constantinides. Then we find record of two Italian girls being trained at Stockwell for the schools in Florence. Interest was still felt in the French schools, and help was specially commended for the Protestant Society for Primary Instruction after the disastrous war of 1870. About the same time also £25 was conditionally voted for the assistance of a teacher for the Protestant normal school in Madrid. The fact that both these entries upon the society's minutes for 1871 have a somewhat sectarian colour is due of course to the fact that in both countries it was the Protestant schools which were in special need of outside help.

Similar circumstances led the committee into warmest sympathy with the Protestants of Bohemia, when in 1873 they sought assistance in founding a normal college at Krabschitz. But their income was too small, and the claims upon it at this period too heavy, to allow them to offer much practical aid. The field indeed was still wide enough; a large correspondence was kept up, especially with the West Indies, where, however, as elsewhere, government aid and supervision were gradually being adjusted to local needs. The old anti-slavery feeling blazed up again after the American rebellion, and a considerable grant was made to the Freedman's Aid Society for the supply of suitable books to the many schools then being opened for negro children throughout the Southern States. From India there often came good news of the work being done by old Borough Road students. In 1871, for instance, it was of Mr. Rodgers, who had made the normal school at Umritsur the best in Northern India.

In the same report mention is made of a collection of specimens sent out to Calcutta by request of Keshub Chunder Sen, who had visited the college and schools and was anxious to introduce many educational improvements among his countrymen. The visit recalls those earlier days when Borough Road had been a place of constant pilgrimage. Some

ten years earlier the Indian Government had sent two of its inspectors for training to Borough Road.

Again, in the report for 1868 the sailing of teachers for Madagascar, the Bahamas, and Samoa is chronicled. A few years earlier the committee had received an order for 264 dozen copy-books in "Feejee"; while a missionary in Savage Island declared that "the whole of this poputalion is in constant attendance at our schools."¹

But interesting and important as are these reminders of the foreign work of the society which has never closed, the fact that the last annual report to occupy itself about them was that for 1875 indicates the changed attitude. Here as elsewhere the committee was wisely consolidating its work, and concentrating its energies on labours which required it all.

The end of this chapter in the foreign work of the society follows close upon the death of Robert Forster, which occurred in 1873 after more than half a century of close service on the committee.² As his survivors declared, there were many years when in time of depression and trial he seemed to be absolutely essential to the life of the society. His judgment had been sought and relied upon in every time of crisis; and he had devoted himself with a veritable passion to the cause of the society, the religious education of the people both at home and abroad. During the next few years the society was also poorer by the death of Mr. Dunn, and of its president, Earl Russell.

Perhaps the greatest individual loss to Borough Road which occurred during this period was that of Mr. Robert Saunders in 1875. He had been a student and assistant there in the early thirties, and had returned again in 1842. He was commissioned to undertake the ill-fated Bristol experiment in 1849, and on his return was appointed, and remained for nearly twenty years, resident vice-principal of the college, the

¹ Report, 1866, p. 25.

² His last years were clouded by weakness.

principal being non-resident until 1888. In this capacity Mr. Saunders undertook the religious teaching, and was responsible for the domestic life of the college. After 1868 his principal duties were those of London agent and inspector, and his sunny genial nature made him a welcome visitor wherever he went. His influence at Borough Road from 1850 to 1870 cannot easily be overestimated.¹ A delightful portrait of him hangs in the college dining hall.

Meanwhile also important changes had taken place in the Borough Road staff. That very able teacher and large-minded educationalist, Mr. J. G. Fitch, resigned his post as principal of the college in May 1863, on receiving Lord Granville's nomination as one of her Majesty's inspectors. He was succeeded by his tried lieutenant, Mr. Curtis, who had been for eight years vice-principal.

The secretaryship laid down by Mr. Wilks in 1868 was ably filled by Mr. Bourne, who retained it for close upon forty years.

Upon the death of Earl Russell, Earl Granville, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Aberdare, Lord Mount Temple, and Mr. Forster filled the president's place in rotation. Among other names especially identified with the work of the society during the period must be mentioned those of Mr. Mundella, who spoke at the annual meeting in 1871, afterwards becoming vice-president and subsequently president; Dean Stanley, who proved a faithful friend; Bishop Temple, Bishop Fraser, the Rev. Thomas Binney, Henry and Joseph W. Pease, Samuel Morley, and Earl Fortescue.

¹ *Educational Record*, ix. 421-23.

PART IV
THE FOURTH QUARTER
(1883-1908)

*FROM COMPULSORY EDUCATION TO THE
INCORPORATION OF THE SOCIETY*

CHAPTER XII

1880-1902

“SCHOOLS FOR ALL”¹

Compulsory Education—Free Education—Bill of 1896-97—Aid Grants—Block Grants—The Bills of 1901-3—The Society and the Situation—Letter to Local Authorities—Hostels—The Transfer of Colleges and Schools.

MR. FORSTER'S Education Act, following on the work of the pioneers, secured the instruction of children in certain elementary subjects. It undoubtedly marked a great advance, but it provided no more than a foundation upon which the future must build. The generation which has grown up since 1870 has seen great changes in the people's schools; and the progress of the last quarter of a century is far greater than the general public yet recognise. Much, indeed, remains to be done, something perhaps to be undone; but very much has been achieved since Mr. Forster first undertook to supply material with which to fill up the gaps left by the voluntary system. School attendance has been made compulsory and comparatively regular; fees have been practically abolished; the leaving age has been raised; and the whole system has been partially decentralised on the one hand, and co-ordinated on the other.

All this national development has profoundly affected, to some extent replacing, the work of the society, and in order to understand that work during the last quarter of a century we must turn once more to review the progress made in the more general field.

¹ The motto of Place's West London Lancasterian Association and title of a pamphlet by James Mill, 1812.

In 1880, under Lord Spencer and Mr. Mundella, school attendance was rendered effectively compulsory; and eleven years later Lord Cranbrook and Sir William Hart Dyke made elementary education almost universally free, removing the stigma of pauperism from those whose school-fees were paid out of the rates. The new step was viewed with horror by such people as are now equally opposed to the removal of a similar stigma from the recipients of pensions in old age. A responsibility was being taken from parents; but it must be remembered that it was a responsibility which was not the parents' alone, nor one which they could in all cases fulfil. It was a citizen's responsibility, and as such had to be borne by the body of citizens, that is to say, by the state.

The change was heartily approved by many of the society's supporters, notably by Mr. Mundella in his presidential address of that year. It recalls the inscription set up by Lancaster ninety years before over his Borough Road School, offering free education to all who needed it.

The change was effected by means of a government grant to the managers of schools in lieu of fees; and it was resolved by the society that this fee grant ought, as far as possible, to be expended in improved education; while it was urged "that in districts where only some of the schools are made free the Education Department should secure that the schools so freed shall be equal, in premises, equipment, and staff, to the schools still permitted to charge fees"; and that no school not satisfying the present requirements of "the Department as to planning be considered as supplying suitable free places, so as to prevent the formation of a school board required to provide proper free accommodation."

In 1896 the country was startled by proposals which seemed little less than revolutionary. These were designed to raise the efficiency of voluntary schools; to provide a paramount county authority for both primary and secondary education; and to decentralise the work carried on by the Education

Department. But the measure proposed was withdrawn, and as it subsequently made its appearance part by part in somewhat altered form, it need not now delay us, interesting and suggestive as it was.

It was followed by the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897, which was directed to the assistance of such schools by allotting to them a grant of five shillings per head of average attendance as some equivalent of the aid received by board schools out of the rates,¹ since the raising of adequate subscriptions had become more and more difficult.

This Act was not without serious flaws, and the society carried on a vigorous campaign of criticism, based especially upon its weakness in favouring a certain kind of school and in failing to guarantee such schools' efficiency or their proper public control.

As an immediate consequence of the new voluntary school aid grant, associations of British schools were formed in all parts of the country for its distribution. In this work of organising it was found that about 1300 British schools were still in separate existence, out of a total of nearly 4000 which had been founded during the century, many of which had been abandoned, while others had passed under the control of school boards.² The majority of these were now associated together in one or other of the eleven districts mapped out by the

¹ Necessitous board schools were not wholly neglected, for in this same session, by the Elementary Education Act, 1897, their income was also augmented by a special aid grant. Thus at last help was provided for the schools in greatest need of it.

² A list of British schools in England and Wales compiled in 1897 showed:—

Existing British schools	1075
Existing British schools (uncertain)	239
Former British schools become board schools	755
Former British schools become denominational schools	70
Former British schools closed	1703
	3842

The number discontinued in London is given as 384 (81 in Marylebone), 130 in Lancashire, with 233 (out of a total of 581) in Wales.

society, and in the first year some £47,000 was allotted and distributed, the money being principally spent upon higher salaries and more adequate staff and equipment.

The year 1898 saw an Act for the Superannuation of Teachers placed upon the Statute Book; while in 1899 there followed the Board of Education Act, creating at last that organisation and that minister which just sixty years before Lord John Russell had proposed to a hostile House of Commons after the earnest representation of the society. The erection of the new Board marked a notable advance in another direction; secondary as well as elementary education was now become a matter of national concern, and would in due course come under fuller criticism and control.¹

In 1900 a broad administrative change was effected by the new Code, which revolutionised the method of making grants, sweeping away, at one stroke of the pen, the old payment by results which had been condemned by Lord Cross's Royal Commission twelve years before. Lowe's "Revised Code" of 1862 had now, by common consent, survived its usefulness. Compulsory attendance and the gradual raising of the exemption age had entirely altered the conditions of the schools in the last forty years. It could not now be said, as it was in 1860, that the merest fraction of the scholars ever reached the upper classes; and under a system by which practically every child passed through the school the old system of individual examination was no longer desirable. The grants were now made, not piecemeal upon the result of passes at annual examinations, but in one block at a fixed rate per scholar, subject to the inspector's satisfaction with the school's general efficiency.

An atmosphere of suspicion was yielding to one of confidence in the teacher. Nor in the teacher only. For with the new

¹ In the same year, Mr. Robson's Child Labour Bill raised the age for exemption to twelve years, except in agricultural districts, where, from eleven to thirteen, a partial exemption was permitted.

system in grants came a new system in curricula. Now that government aid was dependent on general efficiency, the local managers were given a novel liberty in deciding the character of the instruction which the special needs of their locality demanded. They were encouraged to settle for themselves what form of education offered the greatest advantages to the children under their care. This, it need hardly be remarked, was in the most perfect harmony with the policy of the British Society, always eager to foster a local sense of responsibility and initiative.¹

The year 1901 brought other changes. A new Code, by providing for only one government examination at the close of the second year's study, left the college curricula open like those of the schools to the judgment of the managers. The new situation was carefully discussed at a conference between the committee of the society and its principals on July 4, when a suggestion was made as to the desirability of individualising the several colleges, and setting each one apart for some specific branch of training, as Saffron Walden had been dedicated to infant schools.

Sir John Gorst brought in another Bill in 1901, “to make provision for and confer certain powers on local authorities,” of which a writer in the *Educational Record* declared that it represented a “leap in the dark,” being altogether too vague and indefinite. The Bill did not become law; but it was

¹In 1900 two further Acts were carried through Parliament, Sir Charles Dilke's Pit Boy Bill, which prohibited underground labour before the age of thirteen, and Sir John Gorst's Education Bill, which gave power to the guardians to contribute to schools out of the rates in return for the education of pauper children.

With the introduction of the Code of 1900 came other changes, indicated by the Minute on higher elementary schools, and the Cockerton judgments of 1901 disallowing the use of rates for education other than elementary. There followed a temporary enabling Act, and a Minute distinguishing between continuation classes and evening schools. All these changes, whatever their ultimate outcome, served for the time seriously to check and discourage the apostolate of the evening schools, with their purpose of carrying forward one step further the education of the people.

succeeded by Mr. Balfour's Bill, which after considerable amendment received the Royal Assent at the end of 1902.

During its passage through Parliament the British Society was in active opposition. Not content with passing a resolution of disapproval at the April committee meeting, this was further endorsed at the annual meeting in May. The resolution protested against certain revolutionary changes which rendered the Bill especially conspicuous, viz., "the abolition of school boards, the endowment of denominational schools, and the encouragement of wasteful sub-division of educational efforts."

A sub-committee on the Bill met twice during the year, in June and December, and considered the course of events. Its position was difficult, for, as it declared in its final report (December 19), the British Society had responsibilities for more than a thousand of those voluntary schools which the new Act was intended to assist, as well as for a comprehensive national scheme. It was not a political or sectarian organisation; and while seeking to improve any legislative proposal in accordance with its own ideals, it was yet ready to welcome any measure of reform however inadequate which such an Act as this might inaugurate.

The Bill was thus strenuously opposed in so far as certain features already enumerated appeared reactionary; but it was gratefully accepted in so far as other features made for progress.¹

A new educational situation was created by the passing of the Bill, and the British Society convened a conference of its friends and supporters to consider it, and to decide upon the form which its recommendations should take. The confer-

¹ An editorial writer in the journal for October 1902 even went so far as to say:—"One may be permitted to regret that a Bill which, with all its faults, is capable of being transformed into a measure as promising for education as any that is likely to be introduced in the near future, should be discussed with such bitterness of feeling and with such a determined unwillingness on the part of the principal actors to listen to compromise."

ence was held on January 20, 1903, under the chairmanship of Mr. Buxton Morrish, and after long and full discussion decided to recommend the committees of British schools to act with caution, and to delay the handing over of their schools to the local authorities until they should be fully satisfied of the further intentions of the government.

The resolution, which endorsed the opinion already expressed by a small but influential advisory committee, was carried by a small majority only of those who voted, half the persons present remaining uncommitted. But the alternative and defeated resolution was also proposed by members of the same sub-committee, who were anxious that the society should at once encourage the local committees of British schools and all its friends throughout the country to identify themselves with direct public management as organised under the new Act. The defeated resolution received the support of the Hon. E. L. Stanley (now Lord Stanley of Alderley), Sir George Kekewich, and Sir Joshua Fitch, all vice-presidents of the society.

The educational changes of 1902 were completed by the London Bill of the following year, earnestly opposed by the society and especially because it made no provision for direct popular control. On its final passage the committee cautiously remarked that the attitude of the then progressive London County Council “may make the working of the Act less unsatisfactory than was expected.”

During the next twelve months the constitution of local authorities and the drawing up and issuing of “orders” for voluntary schools went on apace; and in the latter work especially the staff of the society was busily engaged, securing conditions consistent with religious liberty and existing trusts. Gradually a large number of these voluntary, “non-provided” schools passed over into the category of council or “provided” schools.

But another aspect of the new Act related to the training of teachers, and this became a matter of special interest to the

society. The local authorities had now to provide for an adequate supply, and, sooner or later, they would doubtless begin to erect training colleges. Here was a region in which the expert knowledge of the society was certain to be of the greatest value; and the special committee which had anxiously watched the course of the Education Bills in Parliament continued to meet and consider the situation which these had created. In October and November 1903 they drew up a letter to the local authorities, setting forth the work which the British Society had hitherto accomplished in this direction; and offering to such authorities the counsel which long experience enabled it to give, with other co-operation of any and every possible kind. The letter urged the great advantages of residential over day training colleges for the greater number of those who passed the king's scholarship examination, holding that the social and moral training thus provided was of paramount importance. It also laid emphasis on the educational value of colleges similar in capacity to Borough Road and Stockwell, which should draw students from as large an area as possible, and students with different branches of educational work in view. This letter was approved by the general committee and issued to all the local authorities, leading to a large and useful correspondence.¹

For a time it had been fondly supposed that in the near future a university training might be given to every elementary school teacher, and at that period day training colleges at the universities were the great panacea. But a Departmental Committee had reported, in 1901, against the practice of teacher-students merely reading for degrees, and by 1904 the conviction was gaining ground that the pupil-teacher and the university were not always well-mated, or perhaps mateable, and opinion ran once more in favour of the residential college. To encourage the building of a sort of half-way house, Mr.

¹ The letter will be found in *Educational Record*, xvi. 441-42, and Report, 1904.

Balfour had stated in 1902 that in future the same grant should be awarded for students in hostels connected with training colleges as for students in the colleges themselves.

A minute from the Darlington College Committee of May 13, 1904, brought the question definitely before the committee in a practical form—certain Darlington students wished to take a Durham University degree in two years, and this was impossible unless they lived where they could attend the university. The Darlington committee proposed therefore to take a house in Durham as a hostel or hall of residence. The college extension sub-committee met under the chairmanship of Mr. Acland and carefully considered the proposal, but concluded to advise against any immediate action, and to wait till a more ambitious effort could suitably be made. Thus any actual extension was again deferred, as it had been six years earlier, when the need for a further training college for women in North London had occupied the consideration of the committee. The future for new developments in this direction, involving the expenditure of considerable sums of money, was too uncertain, and it became more and more probable that in future they would be undertaken and maintained directly by the local authorities. Until these bodies had fully developed their policy it seemed premature for the society to act; it therefore adhered to the recommendation of its sub-committee, November 20, 1903:—

“That while the improvements and enlargements of the society’s training colleges which have been sanctioned already, and with which some progress has been made, should be proceeded with, no further extension or increase of its colleges on the present basis should be contemplated in the existing unsettled state of matters.”

Instead of extension, indeed, we find the wise policy commencing of handing over certain both of the schools and colleges, with adequate safeguards, into the care of the local authorities.

While considerable extensions and improvements had been recently effected at Stockwell and Darlington, the college

at Bangor was in actual process of transfer at the close of our century, while proposals for a similar change at Swansea were also under consideration. Many schools had now been transferred, but there still remained those at Stockwell, Saffron Walden, Darlington, Northfleet, and Petersham which were maintained as non-provided schools by the society.

CHAPTER XIII

A FRESH BEGINNING

Removal to Isleworth—Changes of 1888-92—Isleworth Upper School—Enlargements and Proposals—Kindergarten Exhibition—Over-pressure—Religious Controversies—And the School Boards—Incorporation—Continuation Work.

Notes on Religious Education and the B.F.F.S. in 1908.

WHILE outlining the developments of our national policy in education, and their relation to the British School Society, I have necessarily passed by other changes which may have bulked even larger before the committee; and notably the transfer of the parent training college from Southwark to Isleworth.

In March 1888 the committee resolved that it was desirable to move away from the old premises; and shortly afterwards the committee of the South London Polytechnic entered into negotiations for the building. Mr. Evan Spicer, who had been the society's chairman of committee for many years, resigned in May, to become chairman of the Polytechnic Committee, and Mr. Buxton Morrish took his place. A year later, an offer was made by the British Society for the International College at Spring Grove, and the property was in due course acquired.

The new site was admirably adapted for college purposes. It occupies a slight elevation, standing some 90 feet above sea-level, and consists of eight acres, thus providing for all that open air life which the grim precincts of the Borough precluded. Upon this site stood the building erected some twenty years before at a cost of £15,000 by the International Education Society, and opened by the Prince of Wales in 1867.

The promoters of that interesting but somewhat unfortunate

undertaking were persons no less distinguished than Richard Cobden and his friends, who had proposed, as a result of the commercial treaty with France in 1860, to establish three proprietary colleges, in England, France, and Germany, at which students from each country, pursuing their studies and moving on systematically from one to another by annual rotation, should assure a permanent *entente* between the three nations. Huxley and Tyndall were at one time the directors of the society, and for a few years the college flourished. But it was heavily burdened with debt, and after struggling on vainly against adversity, the directors decided to close it.

Their loss was the British Society's gain. Having disposed of their old premises for £20,000, and expended an additional £9000 on improving the new, they found themselves by April 1890 in possession of a thoroughly satisfactory Gothic building of three stories, in yellow brick patterned with red and with stone-work about the doors and windows, and with steep slate roof,¹ consisting of a central block and two wings, capable of accommodating 130 students, officers, and staff.²

The opening ceremony was performed on June 13 by Earl Granville, who had opened Stockwell College twenty years before, while Mr. Mundella presided at the public lunch. It was almost the last service to the society which the noble earl

¹ Not the least interesting result of the removal to Isleworth is the extension which has thus become possible for popular education on the old site. Here, on the block of land originally leased from the Corporation, but now secured by Act of Parliament, at the corner of Lancaster Street and Borough Road, and facing the alley still known as Belvedere Place, the old three story building has been continually extended until it now covers all the available space. "Old B's" may no longer be able to recognise their former quarters; but I can well suppose that Lancaster himself, could he revisit the old scenes, would hail with delight the work which brings together some 5000 students of both sexes annually under its roofs.

The movement for a People's Palace in South London was begun in December 1887, and resulted in the purchase of the premises eighteen months later, and their re-opening in 1892. It has now two branches, one of these—the Herold Institute in Bermondsey—having formerly served the purpose of elementary schools under the British Society. It was transferred to its new purpose in 1892.

² Now, 1908, licensed for 143.

was able to perform: after a period of active co-operation which had extended over half a century, he died next spring.

The removal to Isleworth, following soon after the death of Mr. Curtis who had been principal for twenty-five years,¹ and the retirement of the vice-principal, marks the commencement of a new chapter in the history of the college. Mr. Barnett, the new principal, was an Oxford man, a scholar of Trinity, and came to Borough Road from a northern professorship. He had behind him a career which was different from that of any of his predecessors, and he came to live actually in the college, instead of in adjoining premises, so that his strong personality was felt at once.

Then the new premises gave scope for the healthy social side of college life which had hitherto been necessarily restricted. Altogether it is evident that a great change took place between 1888 and 1890. But that is not to say that the splendid old tradition was broken. It was maintained in many ways; and there were still members of the staff whose association with Borough Road went back some thirty or nearly forty years. Such were Mr. Dicksee, the teacher of drawing, appointed in 1851, whose portraits in the dining hall keep the presence of the pioneers and statesmen of the movement still within its walls; Mr. Bourne, who, personally or by deputy, continued his daily visits as general superintendent of the colleges; and Mr. Barkby, the vice-principal, who had become curator as early as 1860, had acted as resident superintendent from 1870 to 1879, and who, from his long residence and intimate knowledge of Borough Road, continued to be the principal personal link between the past and the future.²

About the same time, 1890 to 1893, changes took place in all but one of the other colleges also. At Stockwell, Miss Manley, who had been head teacher since 1884, became successively

¹ Died in May 1888.

² Principal Barnett was succeeded in 1893 by Mr. Withers of Balliol, upon whose appointment to the professorship of education at Manchester, Mr. Burrell of Wadham became principal at the end of 1900.

vice-principal and principal;¹ while at the close of 1893, Mrs. Wood, for twenty-four years the matron and lady superintendent, was compelled to relinquish her work. She died early in the following year.

At Saffron Walden, Miss Steele, who had been the first lady superintendent, was succeeded in 1891 by Miss Dunlop of the pupil-teachers' centre at Stockwell. The Welsh colleges also passed at this time through similar changes. Mr. Rowlands, after twenty-three years' service at Bangor, resigned the principalship, and was followed by Mr. Price at the opening of 1892. While at Swansea, at the same time, Mr. David Williams, after almost as long a term, made way for Mr. David Salmon, who, after having been a tutor at Borough Road, became head of the Belvedere Place Board School, erected on the site made famous by Joseph Lancaster.

All these changes, re-enforcing the several colleges under the care or upon the principles of the society, strengthened it in the practical work which it was doing through them. The four years from 1888 to 1892 may therefore be regarded as marking the rise of a new generation in its history.

Other changes associated with the removal to Isleworth may here be mentioned. In 1890 the office of the society was removed to Temple Chambers.² Unfortunately it was impossible to remove the practising school with the college, and the establishment of another at Isleworth occupied much anxious thought during the next decade. The model school had always been the strength of the old college. As Mr. Fitch declared, it had grown directly out of a large primary school, always living in closest relation therewith. Founded by Lancaster ninety-two years before, this school was closed on March 14, 1890, having at that time rather more than two hundred boys on its register. Beside their own school, the students

¹ The office was previously held by Mr. Bourne.

² The lease of the kindergarten establishment in Stockwell Road, privately conducted since 1883, was given up in 1889.

had also been allowed to use Mr. Salmon's for practising purposes.

Perhaps the most serious off-set to the many obvious advantages of Isleworth lay in the absence of such schools as these in the immediate vicinity of the new college, and one of the first efforts of the committee was to remedy this defect. The first proposal was to build a model-school on the estate; but the Education Department did not approve the establishment of an additional elementary school in the district, and it seemed better to make use of the three boys' schools at Brentford, Spring Grove, and Isleworth, until an upper school could be established. That use is still continued with mutual benefit to the college and schools.

In 1894, the upper department of the Isleworth Blue School was placed under the control of the Borough Road ¹ principal, who selected its teachers. The committee was not altogether pleased with the arrangement, but it was a case of this or nothing.

After many weary delays, for which the committee was not responsible, the Isleworth Upper School was at last opened on May Day 1897, by the Earl of Jersey, whose estates adjoin the college. Ten years later, it was transferred to the Middlesex County Council. The history of the whole venture is complicated and tedious. The school was never in the full sense of the term a practising school, and, useful as it proved, its transfer was the cause of little regret, and was accomplished without monetary loss.

The problem of proper practising schools beset both Darlington and Saffron Walden also, and was in both cases met by extensions of premises during this period. Bangor and Swansea have always remained dependent upon the co-operation of the managers of local schools; and indeed, since the removal to Isleworth, Stockwell retains an enviable pre-eminence in this important matter.

¹ The college retained its old name after removal.

Further additions to the Stockwell and Isleworth premises should here be mentioned. In 1892,¹ the committee met to draw up a scheme for necessary college improvements; as one result of this, in 1897, Lord Herschell opened a new cookery school and other buildings at Stockwell. Again, the Vaughan bequest of £74,000 made further enlargements possible after 1903, and new wings were added to Isleworth (1905) and Stockwell (1906).²

In a reference to the proposed hostel at Durham, the connection between the college at Darlington and that university has already been mentioned. In 1896, an arrangement was made by which Darlington students might reckon two years' residence at the college in lieu of one year at the university towards the degree of Bachelor of Letters. A university tutor began to lecture at the college that October. About this time, also, a proposal was made for transferring certain school trusts in Newcastle to the society on condition that they should be applied for the purposes of a training college for mistresses there. This was to take the form of a centre for half-time acting teachers under the care of a superintendent. The proposal, however, failed to obtain sufficient support, and no government aid was available.

Again, at this time, a training college for Jews and Jewesses was discussed; while in the west of England, at Street, in the later part of 1893, serious consideration had been given to the suggestion of a small training establishment for thirty women; but this again had been negatived owing to discouragement from the Department, and we may suppose also from recollection of the failures in this direction long ago at Maiden Bradley and more recently at Bristol.

The departures at Darlington and Durham remind us that university work had been commenced some years before at

¹ The Christy bequest of £13,000 for grants to British schools in poor districts was received about this time.

² There are now (1908) 155 students at Stockwell.

Borough Road, where in 1891 nine students had matriculated in the first class. About the same time, 1892, a few students both here and at Stockwell were permitted under the Code of 1890 to remain for a third year's course. For the last sixteen years the "triarian," whether in residence or abroad, has been a feature of the society's colleges. From 1894 a few students were allowed to pursue their studies on the continent, bursaries being placed by the Department at their disposal on condition that they sent exhaustive monthly reports of their work and observations to their principals.

While certain students were thus studying in France and Germany, an interesting foreign element was again introduced into the London colleges. In 1889 the Egyptian government placed three students at Isleworth; while a little later French *boursiers* and *boursières* or *répétitrices*, and Siamese students were to be found both at Borough Road and Stockwell. Occasionally, also, some Malagasy, African, or Armenian student was in residence.

The desire for university honours increased greatly for some years, until half the students at Isleworth were working for degrees. It was, therefore, only natural that the authorities of the two colleges should be disappointed when the Gresham Commissioners in 1900 declined to recognise training colleges as schools of the London University.¹ After this time, however, as we have noted, the tendency of public opinion began to turn against the elementary teacher's attention being given to a purely university course.

Turning now to another side of the society's labours, we must recall the pioneer work done at Stockwell by Miss Heerwart, and subsequently by others at Saffron Walden, for the introduction of kindergarten methods into English infant schools. The importance of this department was emphasised at the very beginning of the period we are now considering, and in the most

¹ At that time 80 out of 139 students at Borough Road were working for university examinations.

effective manner, when from June to October 1884 a kindergarten exhibition was held by the society at South Kensington in connection with the Health Exhibition, the exhibits¹ being explained to visitors, and special weekly demonstrations being given by expert teachers. On one of these occasions the king, then Prince of Wales, was present.

Related to this popularisation of an important educational reform were the beginnings of systematic child-study, especially that of the increasingly serious matter of "overpressure" upon young scholars. In November 1884 Dr. Francis Warner addressed the Stockwell students on the gestures of children as indicative of their nervous condition, urging close attention to these, and consequent individualisation of teaching. He afterwards continued to address teachers on child-study under the auspices of the Froebel Society. The general committee, after a conference with him in January 1886, passed a resolution commending the formation of classes for the study of conditions of health in school-life, with the doctor's co-operation.

The report of this year declares: "The question of overpressure on its practical side has engaged earnest attention. No well authenticated case . . . has come before your committee, though there is, no doubt, great temptation to whip up the backward under the present [1886] system of grants and percentages, as there was to urge on the clever under the old. Managers and teachers need strength to do justice without fear, regarding the welfare of the children as of more consequence than the amount of the grant. Mr. Forster suggested that the early and healthy cultivation of the powers of the children in the infants' school would do much to remove the chance of mischief from too close application in later years. And your committee has been keenly alive to the value of the kindergarten training in the institutions at Stockwell, Saffron Walden, and Bermondsey [Herolds' Schools], besides intro-

¹ See *Ed. Rec.*, July 1884, for full description of these; also *Froebel's Letters*.

ducing it partially at Corby. Your committee has been glad to have another opportunity of finding rooms at the Borough Road for the annual examination of the Froebel Society in July."

Earl Fortescue, one of the society's oldest vice-presidents, repeatedly urged this important matter upon the attention of the public at its annual meetings.

About this time the noble earl was also much concerned, and I fear to less advantage, about the religious complexion of the society. In his old age he began to suspect it of that partisanship and sectarianism which were so alien to its character and tradition. After carefully reading the reports through a whole century, I can only record my own opinion that they were never more free from the obnoxious spirit which has recently wrought such havoc among us than during the last quarter.

The period has, indeed, been marked by a bitterness of sectarian feeling in all parts of the country from 1890 onwards; from the deadlock, due to the action of the clerical party on the school boards of Salisbury, York, and Winchester, with the subsequent war waged on the London Board on behalf of a creed, to events within the vivid recollection of every reader. From this recrudescence of denominationalism in education, and its concurrent party feeling, the society has stood aside, maintaining its traditional attitude. Speaking at the general meeting in 1891, Mr. Bryce expressed this when he said: "All the religious instruction that can be profitably given to children is instruction that can be given without insisting on the points on which Christians are divided; and I believe that if we could only get the clergy and their friends to look at the matter in the light of real facts and practical experience, we should get them to see that what they are contending for is, to a large extent, a mere chimera."

But the clergy did not see the matter in this light; and the Apostle's Creed began to be introduced into certain board

schools. The society's attention was early drawn to this movement, and it was directly brought under their notice by the action of the British Teachers' Association.

Meeting at Isleworth on February 3, 1894, this body of former students resolved to hold a public meeting of protest, and invited the co-operation of the general committee. Alarm was especially felt at the circular of Canon Bristow, requiring teachers under the London School Board to give a minimum of definite dogmatic teaching. As a result of the Isleworth meeting a conference between teachers and committee was held at Stockwell and attended by 150 persons, certain resolutions being adopted with a view to effective protest to the existing Board and also to influencing the forthcoming election.

The committee afterwards (April 20) communicated its decision to the association, emphasising its own purely non-political character, and declining to enter into the election; but declaring its warm sympathy with the teachers, and urging them to continue to claim and use their privilege of giving undenominational Bible lessons. At the same time, the committee took the opportunity to issue to the public once again a statement of its own position.¹ Again, a year later, a resolution was adopted and published regretting the provocative action of those who had sought to introduce the creed into the public elementary schools.

At a later juncture the committee aptly quoted the declaration of Mr. Balfour when, speaking at the Bible Society's Centenary, and showing how research had only revealed anew the value of the Bible to the human race, he had said: "Living here in Great Britain, absorbed with our own religious differences, is it not something to be able to meet together in a cause intimately connected with religion, but not in any sense depending upon those sectarian differences which so frequently divide us? It must increase charity and it must widen our

¹ See Note at end of chapter.

outlook." The committee felt it might well apply these words also to the cause of the people's schools.

The British and Foreign School Society has always recognised its implied relation to that other great society for the distribution of the Bible, whose birth so nearly synchronised with its own. But in recent years there has been more opportunity for frankly recognising, what was always understood, that the Bible cannot be used *in extenso* in the schools. "The Bible in the school" has always really meant "such portions of the Bible as are suitable for children."¹ And "the Bible in the school," as we have repeatedly had occasion to observe, really presupposes the teacher who is able to read it reverently and intelligently.²

As the Bishop of Hereford has well said, what is of supreme importance is the formation of character. "The forms of dogmatic religious teaching were often of comparatively little moment; the question of real moment was: 'What is your own personality? What are your tastes and temper, and the aims of your life?' It was the personality of their life and character which was influencing and shaping that of the children. The personality and the spirit of the teacher must be kept in the forefront."³

It was because the society held this conviction that it heartily opposed any denominational tests for teachers on the one hand, while it always declined to accept a purely intellectual equipment as a complete test of efficiency upon the other.

"The upshot of the whole matter," says a writer in the journal,⁴ referring to the Education Bill of 1906, "seems to be that complete popular control exerted through a representative local body is inconsistent with the permanence of denominational schools secured by statute. Also it is more evident than ever that so long as special denominational instruction is given by teachers, religious tests must survive, and that complete

¹ Report for 1904.

³ *Ibid.* p. 19.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ed. Rec.* xvii. 230.

freedom from tests cannot be secured without either a secularisation of the schools or the general acceptance of undenominational teaching; and even undenominational teaching is only practically free from the stigma of 'test' when it is allowed that any teacher of good character, average intelligence, open mind, respect for conscience, and the soundness of judgment which the position demands on all grounds may read the Bible with his scholars. If 'Religion' is to be interpreted as a belief in a specified and detailed creed, or attachment to a particular church, some guarantee of sincerity and orthodoxy can hardly fail to be asked for by those who hold the view; in that case the only alternative appears to be that the state schools must become secular. If, on the other hand, the intelligent reading of the Bible is a necessary part of English education, and merely a preparation for articles of faith and an opening of the eyes to the great realities of life, no denominational test is needed."

Two matters remain for notice at the close of this history—the steps taken with the opening of the twentieth century to secure the foundations, which had been laid in the nineteenth, for further work by the legal incorporation of the society under a Royal Charter; and the discussion of new tasks.

It was in March 1901 that the question of incorporation first appears on the minutes of the committee, but the step was not decided upon till the end of 1904. The society duly approved the decision, a petition was lodged, and on May 31, 1906, the Charter was duly granted "by Letters Patent under the Great Seal." The necessity for this new development is clearly stated in the petition:—

"15. The holding of the property and funds of the society by numerous bodies of individual trustees has frequently given rise to serious difficulties, inconvenience, and expense, by reason of the necessity for new appointments, conveyances, and transfer on the deaths or retirements of trustees. These evils would be removed by the grant of a Charter of Incorporation.

"16. Such a Charter would also enable the society to enter

into binding arrangements with local education authorities as to the transfer of public elementary schools, the provision of education other than elementary, the training of teachers, the establishment and administration of scholarships and prizes, and other matters relating to education. Such arrangements cannot now be legally and effectually carried out by reason of the inability of the society as a body to make contracts.”

The Charter accepts the petition in the old picturesque style:—

“ And WHEREAS We have taken the said Petition into Our Royal consideration, and We are minded to accede thereto.

“ NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE that We, by virtue of Our Royal Prerogative in that behalf, and of all other powers thereunto Us enabling, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by these presents do for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, grant, will, direct, ordain, constitute, appoint, and declare as follows:—” that is to say it grants the desired legal powers. The act of incorporation thus secured the position and property of the society, and at the same time gave it new powers for future service.

On the eve of its second century the British Society recognised that its work must be maintained, its living example upheld of a sound religious education untainted by partisanship or sectarianism, and worthy of the citizens of a free country, the children of the mother of nations. The battle was not yet won, and for years to come the issue must appear uncertain. The society must indeed continue “ to provide a rallying-point around which may gather those religious people who value the Bible as the common source of the Christian creeds, and desire that the children in our public elementary schools should be made so familiar with its contents that they will both be elevated by its incomparable influence and be prepared to understand and appreciate the teaching of those who expound and enforce the creeds outside the day school. It ought to bear

witness, theoretical and illustrative, to the possibility of using the Bible in the schools as a means of cultivating the higher nature without dogmatic or sectarian teaching. It ought to offer practical help, by training teachers who can distinguish between the fundamentals of the Christian religion and the matters upon which individual idiosyncrasies may be allowed to have influence and, while themselves standing fast on the true foundation, are prepared not only to tolerate but to respect the convictions of others. It ought to endeavour by word and deed to modify the bureaucratic management which often creeps into the machinery of popular control, and to give reality and effect to the combined action of the friends of education in each of the neighbourhoods which are served by an elementary school."

And there were other directions in which it was reaching out. In July 1907 the committee resolved "that as the operations in connection with the elementary education of the poorer classes of the population, with which the British and Foreign School Society has been mainly engaged in the past, are being rapidly undertaken obligatorily by public authorities, it would be both legitimate and advantageous to apply some of the society's energy and funds to the propagation and encouragement of agencies for the education and training (physical, social, and moral) of youths of both sexes during the period of rapid development which succeeds the age of childhood and the primary school." The resolution opens up a wide field of experiment, in which it may be anticipated that the society will win successes as notable as those it won on the fields of primary education a hundred years ago, and in that of infant teaching at a later date.

Such successes will hardly be second in importance to those already recorded. For, once the foundations of the people's schools are secure, a noble building, worthy of their aspirations, must be raised thereon.¹

¹ Among the personal losses, not elsewhere alluded to, which the

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

“ The committee of the British and Foreign School Society deeply regrets that in the revived controversies concerning public elementary education the claims of sections of the community have been made so prominent that the welfare of the children has been almost lost sight of, and reiterates its unaltered conviction that for the real benefit of the children and for such religious and moral teaching as can be given with advantage in the common day schools, the intelligent and reverent reading and study of the Bible are essential and sufficient.

“ The British and Foreign School Society believes that in such schools it is most expedient that the truths of religion should be studied in their original form—the form which they assumed before the denominations existed—leaving it to the separate religious bodies to formulate these truths in creeds and gather into their respective folds the children of the masses. The society considers that a grievous wrong is done to the children when the Bible is excluded from ordinary use in the school and the teacher is thus prevented from employing the most powerful instrument for quickening the children’s intelligence, developing their moral nature, and encouraging good conduct. Yet if the Bible is to be freely used in schools attended by members of all denominations, that use must evidently be with a view to inculcating practical religion.

“ The society assumes that instruction in the Bible may society has suffered through death during the last quarter of a century, I may here briefly mention the following names in chronological order: the Duke of Devonshire—and more recently his son and successor both in the title and in the society’s vice-presidency; Dean Stanley; the Dowager Countess of Russell; Mr. Mundella, president from 1886–98; Professor Withers; Sir Joseph Pease, president from 1885–86, and from 1898–1902; Sir Joshua Fitch; Archbishop Temple, for many years a vice-president; and, at the close of 1907 after nearly forty years’ able and devoted service, the beloved secretary of the society, the Rev. Alfred Bourne.

be given and ought to be given in the common day schools of the country, for the sake of the children and the state, without denominational bias; and that teachers who are fit to be trusted with the education of the children in other respects—their morals and manners, their physical training and intellectual advancement—may also be trusted to suit the Bible teaching to the ages and capacities of the pupils. Nor is this theory only. The society's experience for three generations, unvarying amid manifold social and political changes, has abundantly shown that wise and effective Biblical instruction can be given apart from creeds and formularies and with strict regard to the claims of conscience.

"The committee therefore trusts that no political, ecclesiastical, or theological zeal, no imaginary or exaggerated apprehension of denominational and sectarian bias, no indifference or false security, will be allowed, either on the one hand to establish a 'School Board Creed,' and, directly or indirectly, bring about the imposition of theological tests upon the teachers, or on the other to exclude the Bible from the public day schools of the country."—Report, 1894.

2. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY IN 1908

The following are the Patrons, Officers, and Council of the Society, 1908-9, with the Principals of the Colleges:—

Patrons:—Their Most Gracious Majesties King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra.

President:—The Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland.

Vice-Presidents:—The Most Hon. the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I.; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., G.C.M.G.; the Rt. Hon. the Earl Carrington, K.G., G.C.M.G.; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crewe, K.G.; the Rt. Hon. the Earl Spencer, K.G.; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Portsmouth; the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle; the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Hereford; the Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley; the Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G.; the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.; the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P.; the Rt. Hon.

James Bryce; the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P.; the Rt. Hon. R. McKenna, M.P.; the Hon. Rollo Russell; the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Barking; Sir Thos. Barlow, Bart., M.D., K.C.V.O.; Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., G.C.M.G.; Sir J. Whitehead, Bart.; Sir George Kekewich, K.C.B., M.P.; Sir H. Evelyn Oakeley, M.A.; the Very Rev. the Dean of Durham; the Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon; the Rev. Canon Warburton, M.A.; the Rev. John Clifford, M.A., D.D., LL.D.; the Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D.; Henry T. Bovey, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.; E. North Buxton, Esq.; George Cadbury, Esq.; F. J. Goodhart, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P.; P. H. Pye Smith, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.

Treasurer:—Robert Barclay, Esq.

Council:—Francis D. Acland, Esq., M.P.; H. Gurney Aggs, Esq.; Raymond Asquith, Esq.; Edric Bayley, Esq., M.A.; F. F. Belsey, Esq.; Sir Edward W. Brabrook, C.B.; G. L. Bruce, Esq., M.A.; Robt. Cameron, Esq., M.P.; Rev. T. G. Clarke, M.A.; George A. Corderoy, Esq.; J. M. Dent, Esq.; Miss Eve; J. E. Foster, Esq.; the Rt. Hon. Lewis Fry; Dr. William Garnett, M.A.; E. B. Gibson, Esq.; George Gladstone, Esq.; Rev. S. W. Green, M.A.; Henry Gurney, Esq.; John Hennell, Esq.; Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, M.A.; John Marshall, Esq.; Harold G. Morrish, Esq., M.A.; T. Buxton Morrish, Esq.; Arthur F. Pease, Esq.; J. Porter, Esq.; George Radford, Esq., M.A.; Sir Thos. Raleigh, K.C.S.I.; W. H. Gurney Salter, Esq.; Rev. B. J. Snell, M.A., B.Sc.; Evan Spicer, Esq.; F. Thompson, Esq.; Harold C. Watson, Esq.; Samuel Watson, Esq.; G. C. Whiteley, Esq., M.A.; R. Wormell, Esq., M.A., D.Sc.

Chairman of Council:—Thos. Buxton Morrish, J.P.

Secretary:—William Prydderch Williams, Temple Chambers, E.C.

Auditors:—Messrs. Gérard Van de Linde & Co., 50, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.

Principals:—Borough Road College, Arthur Burrell, M.A.; Stockwell College, Miss Lydia Manley; Darlington College, W. A. Spafford, M.A.; Swansea College, David Salmon; Saffron Walden College, Miss Jessie M. Dunlop; Bangor College, David R. Harris, M.A.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN

THERE is a dulness which clouds the discussion of education only equalled by the dulness which hangs about theology or philosophy herself. Vital themselves, the air has become devitalised in the neighbourhood of these divine sisters till it smells close as from some ill-ventilated chapel or schoolroom. I do not wonder that so many refuse to breathe it, and decline to open the books and pamphlets from between whose covers there issues this dead air.

But if by chance, when the wind is in the woods and the tree-tops are writing those words upon the sky which the wise soul can read because they are of the language that man first learned to spell in the a b c book of the forest—if, I say, by chance, one catches a hint of the divine lady herself and sees how much fairer she is than even the primroses and chestnut leaves in the April sunshine, then one begins to feel what Education really is; and perhaps one takes up one's *Republic* to con again that greatest of romances, the story of the slow unfolding of the human flower under the influence of music, gymnastic, and science till it opens to the sunlight of eternal truth.

Of course one may quarrel with Plato. After more than two thousand years he is so young that our grey-headed wisdom finds him dangerous yet.

But however one may quarrel with him, Plato's education is no dull matter of theoretical, political, or ecclesiastical polemics; it is not "the mere turning over of an oyster shell," but a question involving "the revolution of a soul, which is

traversing a road leading from a kind of night-like day up to a true day of real existence.”¹

In spite of all our religious disputing, that word of Plato’s rings even truer to-day than in the age in which it was spoken. And we cannot forget that it attaches the education of the individual inseparably to a political ideal which we cannot set aside—an ideal whose essence we, to-day, should call democratic in spite of Plato’s protest—the ideal of a state wherein happiness is the common possession of all, the citizens being benefactors one of another, living not to please themselves but to maintain the commonwealth.

With the rise of democracy in our own age a kindred but a new conception of the place of education has arisen in our minds; a conception thus expressed by an illustrious teacher of teachers, Monsieur Gabriel Séailles:—

“ Les adversaires de l’instruction populaire sont les derniers partisans de l’esclavage. Nous voulons pour tous le partage des biens les meilleurs, l’intelligence du vrai, la jouissance de la beauté, la pratique de la vertu. Appeler tous les hommes à l’humanité pour cela leur donner avec la conscience de leur dignité personnelle l’idée de ce qu’ils se doivent les uns aux autres, l’intelligence des rapports multiples qui mêlent leurs existences et font de leurs vies éphémères les moments d’une grande vie qui les enveloppe et les dépasse, relier ainsi le sentiment social au sentiment religieux, j’ose dire que c’est là quelque chose de nouveau dans le monde, un idéal très haut auquel on ne s’élèvera que par l’effort de tous, car il ne s’agit de rien moins que de faire traverser toute la masse humaine du souffle de l’esprit.”²

Democracy is nothing less than the free nation of freemen; but freedom is not yet, it has to be achieved. For nineteen hundred years the Law of the Spirit has been promulgated for all who could read and would accept it; a law not of external

¹ vii. 521 (Davies and Vaughan).

² *Education ou Révolution*, pp. 15-16.

codes and authorities, but of liberty; a law written in the heart, and read there. And for nineteen centuries it has been the task of the Christian Society to teach and give effect to that Law. In other words, the work of the Churches has been an educational work.

Every one knows the Churches have maintained that education was a department of their religious task. Every one knows that the Churches have been jealous of all other education than that which they provide. Every one knows there is no controversy more bitter than that which rages about religious education. And it is natural it should be so. It is precisely education that matters, and is worth fighting about, especially for the religious man. Did not Plato say it was nothing less than the conversion of the whole being of man, his translation out of ignorance into the life of a quickened spirit? Does it not require a "schoolmaster" to bring any "to Christ"? This then is the exact task given by the Nazarene to his disciples, and by them entrusted to the faithful. It is their business, but not their monopoly; for it is the business of every man and woman of good will. We have been reminded continually during the last four generations, at least, that food is the only necessity of the people which can claim priority over instruction.

Modern democracy is based upon the Christian conception of the virtue and intelligence of the people, and especially of their sense of justice. A democratic government asserts the existence of political virtue and intelligence in the masses of its people and makes appeal to these. As a French writer says of his own republic:—

"France—and for some it is her great error, her historic crime, but for others it is her distinction, her mission in the world, and we are of these last—France has proclaimed the existence of Humanity, she has acted, she has constituted herself, as though Man existed. It remains for her, under penalty of death from the sheer contradiction of facts, to raise every

child of hers to the dignity of Man; to make an actual being of this—I will not say abstract but ideal—being whose existence she has generously predicated.”¹

That is to say, the creation of a popular government must of necessity be followed by a wise and efficient national education which shall initiate every man and woman into the life of citizenship, the generous, wholesome, free life of the people.

I need not elaborate this; it is enough to say that while elementary education may and must be the commencement of such a training, it can never in itself be regarded as anything but a beginning.

But what I wish to lay stress upon is the kind of religion which is essentially associated with this great task. The task is that of initiation into the practice of what we have been taught to call “the Law of Liberty”; in other words, it is an education for freedom, and the tasks of freedom. Now, when we describe this as a religious enterprise we are defining religion itself; and the association of religion and education under this condition is true and necessary. For, as I said before, religion is the liberator of men from the coercion of external authority, by the awakening and disciplining of the soul to the knowledge and obedience of a law within. This divine aspect of Religion as the great Emancipator is not seen to advantage when freedom of conscience itself is called in question and imperilled by men who take Her name. When men speak of religion in her relation to the schools of the people it would be well if they kept her name in greater honour.

But however the sects may have quarrelled, however ecclesiastical parties may have set themselves in array, the fact remains that no national education worthy the title can be other than a religious education. And, as a corollary, it must of necessity, in Great Britain at least, include the use of that great handbook of practical religion which we call the Bible. The Bible is confessedly compounded of many books and

¹ Séailles again, *Education ou Révolution*, p. 78.

varieties of material; it has served many uses and been turned to account by every party for its own ends. But it remains the common possession of our civilisation, and constitutes the foundation of our liberties. That it should be excluded from any national system of education in this country would be the final triumph of mere sectarianism and infidelity.

The story which these pages have attempted to tell, is that of a society which sought to institute, throughout this country and even the whole world, a system of instruction depending primarily upon the training of a body of teachers filled with that free religious spirit. It was from the beginning an apostolate, initiated and carried forward by a comparatively small group of true philanthropists, men in whom the passion for humanity transcended every party or sectarian consideration.

It was always an initiator of enterprises, and most of these passed almost at once out of its immediate care. Others remained longer; and some continue still. But the task to which Lancaster and his friends first set their hands, the task of helping the people to teach themselves, remains. And it will remain until the people have learnt, not this lesson or that, but what is the purpose and essence of education itself; it will remain until the work of the teacher is recognised as that not of the churches but of the Church Universal, the Church of Man and of the Son of Man; it will remain till every school becomes a nursery of the Higher Life.

The immediate character of this task must of necessity change with changing needs; the work of the past is done, the work of the present is being done, that of the future is yet to do—each part is different and yet the task itself is the same. Of the future, then, I will not attempt to speak; the society has its own counsel and will face each new need as an opportunity. I do not doubt that it will continue to suggest and to stimulate the best and most catholic enterprises for the development of the co-operative spirit in education; and to that task I confess I can see no end.

APPENDICES

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Professor FOSTER WATSON

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

BY T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P.

A CHARACTERISTIC BEGINNING

THE history of elementary education in this country follows characteristic lines. It begins with the benevolent efforts of private individuals and societies; by-and-bye the state steps in with public contributions; and by-and-bye, again, that which was begun by voluntary effort finds itself wholly maintained out of public funds. A hundred years ago some altruistically minded folk, moved by the spectacle of neglect presented by the moral and intellectual condition of the people, founded the British and Foreign School Society for the promotion of the education of the children of the people along purely unsectarian lines. The story of their efforts and of those of that remarkable man, Joseph Lancaster, is told elsewhere. Mindful of the early canons of the Church and provoked by the Lancasterian movement, the Church of England stepped in three years later with the establishment of the National Society for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Thus in England and Wales was the work of elementary education formally initiated. (In this initiation, I am bound to add, we were generations behind many other countries, including Scotland.)

Well, the work thus begun grew apace under purely voluntary auspices until we come to the great reform movement of 1832.

THE STATE CONTRIBUTES

One of the first acts of the reformed Parliament was to make an Exchequer grant of £20,000 to the two societies under reference. That grant was continued annually from 1833 to 1839. The conditions under which it was made payable are

set forth in a Treasury minute of August 30, 1833. I call attention to the fact that amongst other conditions was the following:—

“That no application (for a grant) be entertained, unless a sum be raised by private contribution, equal at the least to one-half of the total estimated expenditure.”

This policy of furnishing government grants to voluntary schools, penny by penny for the amount raised locally, remained a feature of our system of making Exchequer grants right through the years that followed down to 1876. It found expression in Section 97 of the Act of 1870. From 1876 onwards it was steadily undermined by successive Conservative governments and ultimately entirely departed from. To-day those who insist upon denominational religious teaching as part of the state provision of elementary education boldly resist the proposition that they should meet its cost out of funds other than their contributions to rates and taxes. But more of that later.

THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL

In 1839 the grant was increased to £30,000 (to-day, by the way, the Exchequer contribution in aid of elementary schools and teachers is over twelve and a quarter millions) and an Order in Council was issued appointing a Committee of Council to—

“Superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education.”

The first endeavour of the new Committee of Council was to establish a normal school for the training of elementary schoolmasters, a most desirable and salutary proposal. After severe criticism the scheme passed the House of Commons by two votes, only to be beaten in the Lords, mainly, I think I am entitled to say, by the bitter hostility of the Established Church. In the words of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth before the Newcastle Commission of 1858:—

“A very great controversy arose as to the constitution of this normal school, which was conceived to be an indication that the Government desired to establish common schools for the country, founded upon a basis of religious equality. The Church of England in particular entered a most emphatic pro-

test against a general system of education founded upon such a basis. In consequence of these discussions, of the inadequacy of the majority in its favour in the House of Commons, and of the strong protest proceeding from a large section of the House of Peers, the Government withdrew the scheme of a normal school."

SCHOOL INSPECTORS AND INSPECTION

Frustrated in this endeavour, the new Committee of Council turned its attention to the task of seeing that the annual Government grants to the schools were being properly dispensed. To this end it appointed school inspectors, issued instructions, and made the right to inspect a condition of receipt of state aid. From this point onward the state remained a contributor to the cost of elementary education, steadily increasing its grant and its power of control and direction right down to 1870, when a new revolutionary step forward was taken. From the first the schools of the two societies at work were placed under a separate body of inspectors and each inspector was appointed subject either to the concurrence of the National or the British and Foreign School Society. These gentlemen inspected the work of the religious as well as the secular instruction, an arrangement that was terminated in 1870.

At this time the voluntary agencies directing elementary education turned their attention to the establishment of training colleges for teachers. Further, by 1850 the National Society schools were educating some 900,000 pupils; the British schools (*i.e.*, the schools of the British and Foreign School Society) some 20,000; the Wesleyan body some 38,600; whilst the Roman Catholics were just commencing operations in conjunction with the state. There were also of course a number of uninspected schools. Some of these were undoubtedly good; but most of them were in a deplorable condition. From the records of the time we read at one time that "the school was held in a miserable room over the stable"; at another "in a dark miserable den under the town hall"; and at another "in a ruinous hovel of the most squalid and miserable character." From a report by the Rev. F. C. Cook, inspector of

schools, we gather what boys of twelve years of age were learning in a good school—an exceptionally good school I should say:—

“A boy, of fair average attainments, at the age of twelve years, in a good school, has learned—

“1. To read fluently, and with intelligence, not merely the school-books, but any work of general information likely to come in his way.

“2. To write very neatly and correctly from dictation and from memory, and to express himself in tolerably correct language. The latter attainment, however, is comparatively rare, and has been one which I have specially and repeatedly urged upon the attention of school-managers.

“3. To work all elementary rules of arithmetic with accuracy and rapidity. The arithmetical instruction in good schools includes decimal and vulgar fractions, duodecimals, interest, etc. Much time and attention are given to this subject, but not more than are absolutely required. Indeed, when I have been consulted upon alterations of the time-tables, I have invariably recommended a larger proportion of time for this subject.

“4. To parse sentences, and to explain their construction. But the progress in English grammar is not satisfactory, and, though much time is given to the subject, it is not taught with sufficient energy and skill in a large proportion of schools which in other respects are efficiently conducted.

“5. To know the elements of English history. A good elementary work on this subject is still a desideratum; but the boys are generally acquainted with the most important facts, and show much interest in the subject.

“6. In geography the progress is generally satisfactory. In fact, most persons who attend the examinations of good schools are surprised at the amount and the accuracy of the knowledge of physical and political geography, of manners, customs, etc., displayed by intelligent children of both sexes. Well-drawn maps, often executed at leisure hours by the pupils, are commonly exhibited on these occasions.

“7. The elements of physical science, the laws of natural philosophy, and the most striking phenomena of natural history, form subjects of useful and very attractive lectures in many good schools. These subjects have been introduced within the last few years with great advantage to the pupils.

“8. The principles of political economy, with especial reference to questions which touch on the employment and remuneration of labour, principles of taxation, uses of capital, etc., effects of strikes on wages, etc., are taught with great clearness and admirable adaptation to the wants and capacities of the children of artisans in the reading-books generally used in the metropolitan schools. I have found the boys well acquainted with these lessons in most schools which I have inspected in the course of this year.

“9. Drawing is taught with great care and skill in several schools by professors employed under the Department of Science and Art.

“That any addition can be advantageously made to this list I do not believe, considering the age of the children; nor am I of opinion that any of these subjects could be omitted without practical detriment to the schools.”

This amount of instruction, however, must have been rare to

judge from the reports of the Committee of Council and of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission.

Mr. Cook's description was no doubt decidedly optimistic. Perhaps we get nearer the truth in the comment of Mr. Norris (also an inspector of schools), who wrote:—

“ If I were asked to describe generally what the annual grant schools of Cheshire and Staffordshire were accomplishing in the way of education, I should say that schools of this sort were now within reach of about one-half of the population, and that they were giving a very fair elementary education to one-fourth part of the children who passed through them, or, more briefly, that we had reached one-half, and were successfully educating one in eight of the class of children for which the schools were intended.”

In 1856 the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council was created, and from that time education was represented by a minister responsible to the House of Commons.

An important influence was exercised on the progress of elementary education in England—as the report of Lord Cross's Commission of 1886 reminds us—by a conference which was held in London in 1857, presided over by His Royal Highness the late Prince Consort, to consider the question of imperfect attendance of children at school and the early age at which they were removed. In his opening address the Prince stated that, although great results had been achieved, they were only an instalment of what remained to be done. It appeared that out of the two millions of children in attendance at school—

42	per	cent.	attended	less	than	one	year.		
22	„	„	„	one	year	and	less	than	two.
15	„	„	„	two	years	and	less	than	three.
9	„	„	„	three	years	and	less	than	four.
5	„	„	„	four	years	and	less	than	five.
4	„	„	„	five	years	and	less	than	six.

The rules which regulated the proceedings of the Committee of Council on Education had been embodied in minutes passed in successive years during the period referred to. In 1855, an abstract of all former Minutes of Council was moved for by Mr. Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton, and published as a Parliamentary Paper. Subsequently, in 1860, Mr. Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrook, put forth the same matter arranged in chapters according to subjects, which acquired the title of

“The Original Code,” and which has served as a framework on which all succeeding codes have been constructed. The first of these, in 1862, was the well-known “Revised Code.”

By 1860 I may add the annual grant on behalf of elementary education had reached just £800,000.

THE “NEWCASTLE” COMMISSION

The time had now come to review the situation. This was done with the greatest care and industry by the “Newcastle” Commission, who reported that:—

1. One in every eight of the population was at some time in some school or other.
2. Of the estimated number of two and a half millions who ought to be at school, only 1,675,000 were in public schools of any sort.
3. Of the pupils in public schools only one-half were in schools receiving any grant, or under any sort of inspection.
4. The attendance in inspected schools was estimated at only 74.35 per cent. of the scholars on the books.
5. The number of assisted schools amounted to 6897, containing 917,255 scholars; while 15,750 denominational schools, and about 317 others, containing together 691,393 scholars, were outside the range of the operations of the Department.
6. Of the pupils in inspected schools not more than one-fourth of the children were receiving a good education, the instruction given being too much adapted to the elder scholars to the neglect of the younger ones.

The chief recommendations of this remarkable Commission were:—

1. That all assistance given to the annual maintenance of schools should be simplified and reduced to grants of two kinds. The first of these grants should be paid out of the general taxation of the country, in consideration of the fulfilment of certain conditions by the managers of the schools. Compliance with these conditions was to be ascertained by the inspectors. The second was to be paid out of the county rates, in consideration of the attainment of a certain degree of knowledge by the children in the school during the year preceding the payment. The existence of this degree of knowledge would be ascertained

by examiners appointed by county and borough boards of education hereinafter described.

2. That no school should be entitled to these grants which did not fulfil the following general conditions:—The school would have to be registered at the office of the Privy Council, on the report of the inspector, as an elementary school for the education of the poor. The school would have to be certified by the inspector to be healthy and properly drained and ventilated, and supplied with offices; and the principal school-room must contain at least eight square feet of superficial area for each child in average daily attendance.

With a view to make the teaching in schools more effective and more evenly distributed among the scholars, the Commission recommended what has since been known as “payment by results.” “There is only one way,” the Commission reported, “of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with a view to ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of this examination.”

Of these recommendations, that one which proposed that education should be supported partly by means of a local rate bore no immediate fruit. The other main suggestions, viz., that the Parliamentary grant should be paid directly to the managers, who should arrange all questions of stipend with their teachers, and that this grant should be made to depend largely on the record of individual examination of the scholars, formed the backbone of Mr. Lowe’s Revised Code.

The bedrock principle of this famous code, the principle of “payment by results,” was bitterly challenged by educationists; but it held the field for thirty years. In recent years, however, it has been steadily departed from, with, as I think, the most salutary effects upon the permanent value and fruitfulness of the teaching given.

THE GREAT ACT OF 1870

Long before 1870 it had become clear that the voluntary system even when stimulated by ever growing Government grants could not adequately cover the field. The Newcastle Commission recommended rate aid; Lord John Russell had put forward the same principle in 1853, in his abortive Borough Bill. It was not until 1870, however, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister and Mr. W. E. Forster as Vice-President of Committee of Council, that success attended the efforts of those who saw that in the interests of national prosperity we must make a new advance.

In setting forth the urgent necessity for such a measure, Mr. Forster estimated that the existing provision for effective elementary education in England included some million and a half of scholars, on the books of about 11,000 aided schools, of whom about a million were in average attendance. These numbers, however, represented not more than two-fifths of those children between six and ten years old and one-third of those between ten and twelve, who ought to have been at school. *Thus there were left outside the range of any educational institution of guaranteed efficiency not less than one million children between the former ages, and half a million between the latter.* In confirmation of his estimate, Mr. Forster produced further figures drawn from the return to an inquiry ordered by the House of Commons in the previous year into the educational condition of four great towns, viz., Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. "It is calculated," he said, "that in Liverpool the number of children between five and thirteen who ought to receive an elementary education is 80,000; but, as far as we can ascertain, 20,000 of them attend no school whatever, while at least another 20,000 attend schools where they get an education not worth having. In Manchester—that is, in the borough of Manchester, not including Salford—there are about 65,000 children who might be at school, and of this number about 16,000 go to no school at all. I must, however, add that Manchester appears to be better than Liverpool in one respect, that there are fewer schools where the education is not worth having. As a Yorkshireman, I am sorry to say

that, from what I hear, Leeds appears to be as bad as Liverpool, and so also, I fear, is Birmingham."

WHAT THE ACT OF 1870 DID

Hence the Act of 1870. In effect that Act said to the conductors of the voluntary system: You may go on as in the past. Your schools will remain under private local management. You will retain your right to give denominational religious teaching. You will get Exchequer grants as before. But you must continue to find your supplementary income from charitable contributions and school fees. Further, we will make arrangements in our scheme which will be not unfavourable to an extension of your operations.

How well the denominationalists have done under the Act of 1870 is evidenced in the fact that whilst in 1870 their schools showed an enrolment of 1,800,000 pupils, to-day they accommodate 3,500,000 of pupils, or just half the whole number of children whose names are recorded on the registers of the elementary schools.

But, continued the state in 1870, we must supplement this voluntary system. And to do this we will give to localities permissive right to elect a local Board of Education—to be chosen *ad hoc*, and styled a school board. This body will survey its area, and if it find deficiencies it will be charged with the duty of building a new public elementary school, to be called a board school. This school will get Exchequer grants, like the voluntary school, from Whitehall. But for its supplementary income—unlike the voluntary school—it shall have resource to the local rates.

THE CONDITIONS OF RATE AID

Thus, for the first time, we have a statutory obligation laid upon the community to build out of its moneys a public elementary school; thus for the first time the local ratepayer is made contributory to the cost of education.

But rate aid was only to be available on two fundamental conditions. And these must be noted carefully, as they played a vital part in the reconsideration of the problem in 1902 and

in 1906. They are for the third time the central feature of the situation again to-day. The new board school about to be rate aided was to be:—

1. *Under complete local control.*
2. *The religious teaching in it—if there were any, for the scheme of 1870 left the matter wholly in the hands of the school board—must not involve the teaching of any “religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination.”*

These were, as I say, the conditions precedent to the receipt of rate aid. It was the violation of these principles in 1902 that led to the bitter and determined agitation with which we are, unhappily, familiar.

Well, the two systems, the old and the new, grew apace together. New denominational schools sprang up under the Act of 1870—in thirty-five years the Church school enrolment rose from 1,173,345 to 2,305,949; the Roman Catholic from 74,122 to 339,554; and new board schools began to cover the more neglected parts of the educational field. Within thirty years the board school system, as to the extent of its operations, had drawn level with the older voluntary system, each educating about half of the six millions of the working-class children of the country.

But the voluntary school found competition with its new rival an increasingly difficult task. As school boards multiplied and school board rates were levied the task of securing voluntary contributions became more and more troublesome. The situation was eased as I have already stated by successive Conservative Governments in the steady augmentation of Government grants. But the ultimate end was never in doubt by those who had any claim to an understanding of the problem.

THE ACT OF 1902

So we come to 1902. By this date the eternal lack of pence in the voluntary school coffers was once more acute; and something less peddling than constantly recurring “special aid” grants was determined upon. The denominational schools must be put boldly upon the rates. I made no com-

plaint; and make none now. But what about the conditions of 1870? What about full control? What about "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination"?

The latter of these two conditions Mr. Balfour violated without so much as vouchsafing any apology to the friends of the settlement of 1870. The former he "dodged" by giving the public two seats upon the management board of each denominational school, the said board to consist in each case of six members.

EXIT THE SCHOOL BOARDS

But Mr. Balfour did more. He greatly disliked the school boards. It would never do to hand over the rate-aiding of the denominational school to the bodies so long associated with, and responsible for, the rival system. They would probably be too exacting in their terms. Besides they were not universal, and many of the village boards were far from efficient instruments of local self-government. So why not destroy the school boards, and "municipalise" the local control of education? The idea was a bold one, and was probably as much inspired by the fact that the great bulk of the great municipal councils throughout the country were Tory in their complexion as by anything else. So the school boards had to go. Education was placed in the hands of the municipal councils. The denominational schools were boldly placed on the rates as well as the taxes. The essential condition of 1870 that no sectarian teaching should be given in rate-aided schools was wholly violated. The essential condition of 1870 that full rate control must accompany rate aid was ingeniously dodged.

Then came the general election and the clear mandate to the Liberal majority to restore to rate-aided education the principles violated in 1902.

WHAT MR. BIRRELL'S BILL PROPOSED

The purpose of the Bill of 1906 is now clear. It was to redress the breaches in the settlement of 1870 inflicted by the Act of 1902. Put shortly, the following were its main proposals:—

1. The dual system of board and voluntary schools, or as they have been known since 1902 "Provided" and "Non-provided" schools, was to be entirely abrogated.

2. After January 1, 1908, every state and rate-aided school was to be a "Provided" school.

3. All public elementary school managers and teachers would consequently be under the direction and control of the local authority.

4. One million a year new grant was placed at the disposal of the local authorities.

5. The local authority was to settle by agreement with the trustees the terms of transfer of the "Non-provided" school buildings.

6. Failing agreement, the case was to be settled by a Commission of three members.

7. "Cowper-Temple" religious teaching was to be the universal system so far as the public provision of religious teaching was concerned.

8. Teachers were no longer to be compelled to give religious teaching.

9. "Facilities" for denominational teaching on two days a week were to be furnished by the local authority in the case of the "Non-Provided" schools, if the same were made a condition of transfer by the trustees.

10. The teacher was to be prohibited from volunteering to become the teacher of denominational religious instruction, except as to 11.

11. In urban areas, where the parents of four-fifths of the children demanded the same, "facilities" were to be furnished, if the local authority agreed, on every school day in the week.

The Birrell Bill passed through all its stages in the House of Commons, ultimately to be rejected by the Lords.

In my judgment it would be difficult to overstate the disaster to education caused by the loss of this brilliant endeavour to effect an educational settlement.

LATER ENDEAVOURS

Last year Mr. McKenna (Mr. Birrell's successor) introduced, but afterwards withdrew, a short Bill designed to charge

against the managers of "Non-Provided" schools a sum estimated as covering the cost of denominational religious teaching.

To-day the country has before it the Liberal Government's second endeavour to restore the principles violated in 1902 by Mr. Balfour. Mr. McKenna's present Bill may be thus summarised. It seeks to enact—

1. That there shall be within reach of every child who needs it "Provided" school accommodation.

2. To this end the conductors of non-provided schools are invited to "transfer" their schools to the local education authority.

3. For the continuance of denominational teaching full "facilities" are to be offered in all ordinary cases for the use of the school premises on Saturdays and Sundays, and in the case of a school in a "single school parish" daily also either before or after the ordinary school hours.

4. To meet the cases of those who do not wish to "transfer" their schools—and not being schools in a "single school parish"—an opportunity is offered to trustees to "contract out." That is to say they may, subject to the Board of Education's certificate of continued efficiency, receive Exchequer grants—raised to 47s. per child a year—but henceforward forego rate aid, making up the deficiency thus created in the school fund by voluntary contributions and school fees (up to a maximum of 9d. per week) charged against the parents.

5. A re-arrangement of the scheme of making grants in aid so as to increase the amount all round, and meet the pressure upon the heavily rated areas. It is estimated that additional state grants to the extent of £1,400,000 a year will be needed.

I write before the second reading of Mr. McKenna's Bill has been taken; but already considerable agitation has arisen against the proposed scheme of "contracting out" and in respect of the proposed method of dealing with the problem of religious teaching. As to "contracting out" I must frankly say that no Radical can view it with anything approaching equanimity. It is the compromise—put forward in 1906 from Tory and ecclesiastical benches as a means of "religious

peace—which the government has been prepared to make in order to free the village school. The Bill proposes to take steps to maintain educational efficiency in the “contracted-out” school; but nobody who knows anything at all about the problem will deny that the task will be a very difficult one. To meet the financial position in the “contracted-out” school it is proposed to allow the Managers to re-impose fees. But this again is hardly a step forward.

THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH’S PLAN

I ought at this point to make some mention of the praiseworthy efforts of the Bishop of St. Asaph to arrive at a *modus vivendi*. Recognising the mistake of 1902, Dr. Edwards has been untiring in his attempts to find a way out. Apart from seeking to arrange a working agreement between the denominationalists and the county councils in Wales, he introduced in 1904 a “transfer” Bill which would have enabled the trustees of denominational schools to transfer their schools to the local authorities on terms. These terms, shortly, were as follows:—

1. The non-provided schools to be leased to the authority for a period of time.

2. Transferred schools would then become council schools for the time being, their management, teachers, etc., etc., falling fully and completely into the hands of the authority.

3. Religious instruction throughout would *ipso facto* become undenominational in all leased—as it is in all council—schools.

4. Facilities for specific denominational teaching to be afforded in all council and transferred during school hours by such persons as may be specified in the arrangement, but not at the cost of the education authority.

This permissive scheme passed its second reading in the House of Lords on July 4, 1904, but no further progress was achieved. At least one remarkable statement was made during the second reading discussion. On behalf of the government Lord Tweedmouth said:—

“There are points in this Bill which will be met with hostility, but the principle is one to which we take no exception whatever. It is a Bill which may perfectly fairly form the basis of

some arrangement in the future. . . . I welcome it . . . as an eirenicon—I mean by that a message of peace, and I hope that later it will be possible to expand it into a concordat.” I suppose it was the encouragement conveyed in this sentence which induced the Bishop to try again in 1908. As a sort of alternative to the McKenna Bill, Dr. Edwards introduced the same principles of “transfer” associated with “right of entry” into a Bill which came up for second reading on March 30, 1908. The new Bill provided machinery for “transfer,” reserving to the trustees the use of the school on Saturdays and Sundays, and not less than two other days in the week out of school hours. The “right of entry” for denominational teaching—for which the denominationalists would themselves have to pay—was also to be extended to the council schools. As the government Bill held the field, it was ultimately decided to adjourn the debate.

THE ETERNAL RELIGIOUS PROBLEM

Let me see if I can set out the position of the extreme denominationalist as regards the eternal religious problem—which is once more, of course, the main feature of the controversy. He says in effect, Bible teaching is substantially the denominationalism of Nonconformity. You endow that with rates and taxes to which we have to contribute. But if we want *our* denominationalism taught you deprive us of rate aid, and make us—whilst assisting as ratepayers in the maintenance of the Nonconformist’s denominationalism—contribute substantial sums out of our private pockets to the maintenance of our own. This case, plausible as it may appear, is based on the fallacy that Bible teaching is the denominationalism of Nonconformity. It is not. It is an attempt—subject of course to a “Conscience Clause”—to find a common ground of religious teaching which should be acceptable to all members of the Christian community. To attack it as an endowment of Nonconformity is to advance the amazing contention that the Bible is exclusively the property of the Nonconformist. Great prelates, who urge the view, seem to forget the Articles of the Church to which they have subscribed, and which were laid down “for the establishing of

consent touching true religion." The Sixth Article treats "of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," and reads, as everybody knows, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. . . ."

Many a too zealous cleric in his denunciation of Bible teaching seems to me to have entirely overlooked the subscription he gave, upon ordination, to this article. He insists that the Bible is not enough. Would that he could bring the trained instinct of the teacher to the limited capacity of the child. Then indeed would he learn how futile all this clamour really is. Then indeed would he learn how fruitless all his insistence upon the teaching of the nice denominational distinctions would be in actual practice even if the law gave him his heart's desire.

When Mr. Forster submitted his scheme to the House of Commons in 1870 he said:—

"I have the fullest confidence that in the reading and explaining of the Bible what the children will be taught will be the great truths of Christian life and conduct, which all of us desire they should know, and that no effort will be made to cram into their poor little minds theological dogmas which their tender age prevents them from understanding."

The shrewd common-sense of this comment is accurately reflected in 1908 in the general desire of the people of the country. But many extreme denominationalists not only protest against Bible teaching as insufficient. They go further, and say that it is positively mischievous! That is a curious thing to hear in a Protestant country! That the Roman Catholics and the Jews may raise fundamental objections to "Cowper-Templeism" I can readily understand. I can even imagine them declaring a preference for secular education (so far as the state function is concerned) as against compulsory undenominationalism. But I confess the outcry of members of a Protestant church against "simple Bible teaching" perplexes me. Happily we have behind us the experience of thirty-five years. And that experience shows us that Bible teaching has been given in the board schools with devotion by

the teachers, with wholesome effect upon the children, and with satisfaction to the vast majority of the parents. From the beginning, ministers of all denominations have cheerfully co-operated in preparing syllabuses of religious instruction, and the teaching under these syllabuses has been entirely beneficent. Let me quote a few opinions upon it:—

“If the Bible is read in a school, and if prayers are read, and Christian hymns are sung, I could not honestly or fairly say that it is not a Christian school.” [Cardinal Manning]

“I thank God for the board schools of Liverpool. I wish them all prosperity, for had it not been for them a large number of children, now respectable members of society, would have grown up a danger to the community.” [Dr. Ryle, when Bishop of Liverpool.]

“To me it is almost inconceivable how any Christian man who knows the facts can speak of the religious teaching at present given under the London School Board as worthless because it is undenominational. I am afraid that many who denounce the Bible teaching have never really examined their religious syllabus, nor read the reports of the board’s religious inspectors. It is trifling with a grave subject to ignore that the board’s Bible teaching lays the foundation upon which the ampler teaching of the Christian faith could be securely built.” [The Primate, when Bishop of Rochester.]

“I believe it is our duty to instil into the minds of the children, if we can, a sense of what their duty is; in other words, the primary principles of religion and morality. . . . We have a great and responsible duty to perform, and whatever may be our own special individual Church views, we accept most heartily the duty which is imposed upon us of teaching the children the first principles of knowledge and also the first principles of morality. . . . We intend, if the board accepts the principle of Bible teaching and Bible reading in schools, to be specially careful that no advantage shall be taken of the decision to promote the interests of any sects. [The late W. H. Smith, in setting up the London School Board system in 1871.]

To these striking testimonies I will only add that of Dr. Knox, the Bishop of Manchester, whose virulence against this Bill, and that of 1906, is unrestrained. Strange as it may appear, Dr. Knox in 1900, when Bishop of Coventry, cham-

pioned the Bible teaching of the Birmingham board schools during the great School Board contest of that year. Said he (November 12, 1900):—

“He confessed that the cry of the impossibility of undenominational teaching amazed him. . . . There was no book in the world which was so true to the point of the heart’s compass as the Bible. Men who read that book differently but read it sincerely still found that was the effect it produced upon them, and that was the effect they desired to see produced on the children, and whatever a teacher could do to enhance that effect without sectarian bias they would give him liberty to do.”

THE SECULAR SOLUTION

But the attack on the state endowment of Bible teaching is on far firmer ground with the purely secular party. They say in effect that the state should give no preference to any form of religious teaching; should confine itself to secular teaching; and should offer whatever facilities may be educationally practicable to all the sects to give denominational teaching to the children of their faith at their own expense and outside the auspices of the public provision of education. It is not to be denied that the advocates of this system have all the logic on their side. But human life is not ruled by logic. Further, their proposals are hopelessly, as I think, out of touch with national sentiment. Were it not so why have the local authorities continued Bible teaching in their council schools? Under the Act of 1870 the “secular solution” is open to them. Why haven’t they adopted it?

Mr. Cowper-Temple himself admirably put the case two years after his scheme was adopted in 1870. He said (May 6, 1872), referring to the debates of 1870:—

“The Bill nearly made shipwreck on account of the religious difficulty, which was so enormously exaggerated by theorists, but which has never appeared a very real difficulty to those who are practically acquainted with education. The great difficulty was that the secular party tried to persuade other people that those who advocated unsectarianism were adopting a visionary, hopeless, and impossible scheme. If the thing had been argued upon merely theoretical grounds, I think the

secular party might have succeeded in convincing people that unsectarian education was impossible. But the arguments they used went for very little. . . . Experience has shown that in unsectarian schools religion can be taught in a most practical, efficient, and useful way, supplying to the children the amount of religious knowledge which they require, without trenching upon those theological disputes, controversial difficulties, and alarming apprehensions which have induced many good men who love the Bible themselves to be driven to the extreme and abhorrent view that they must absolutely exclude the Bible from the school, or if they do not exclude it they must gag the teacher and prohibit him from giving the slightest explanation of that one Book which all England reveres."

I will only add one word to this remarkable presentment of the case so exactly applicable to the present situation; and it is this. The moment we exclude religious teaching from the common schools that moment we commit tens of thousands of the children of the slums to a youth untouched by the influences of Christian truths as revealed in the Bible. Do the conflicting members of the various branches of the Christian family want that? Can they contemplate it with equanimity? Because, whether they can or not, that is precisely what these barren controversies are rapidly bringing us to—as a counsel of despair.

POSTSCRIPT

I add a word or two dealing with the situation down to date. The McKenna Bill has passed its second reading; the debate and second reading of the St. Asaph Bill has been adjourned. But on all hands there would appear to be a real determination to bring this unhappy, and even dangerous, education controversy to an end. A spirit of accommodation is abroad the like of which I do not remember during the thirty years I have been in touch with the problem. And, really, there is no reason why this should not be so—apart altogether from the vital necessity to bring this controversy to a just and permanent close. For the outstanding points of difference

between the belligerents have been narrowed down to a very small compass. Practically most of those party to the discussion are now agreed:—

1. That the dual system must go.
2. That all managers and teachers must be wholly under the control of the local authority.
3. That any denominational teaching must be at the expense of the denominationists, and not a charge upon public funds.
4. That the teachers, like all other public servants, must be appointed without reference to their religious beliefs.
5. There is also a general consensus of opinion in favour of continuing in all schools the Cowper-Temple teaching which in the past has been given in the council schools.

The two serious outstanding questions are:—

1. Given that in any area there is a choice of schools—including an undenominational school—is it possible, consistently with the establishment of a national system on lines already indicated, to continue the denominational character of a school attended by children practically all of one faith and not in any sense designed for purposes of proselytising?

This is an acute question which Mr. Birrell tried to meet in 1906 with Clause IV.; which Mr. McKenna tried to meet in 1908 with “contracting out”; and about which Dr. Edwards does not appear to have especially concerned himself. Frankly for myself I prefer a form of the Clause IV. method to “contracting out”; but I am not particularly in love with either.

2. Assume that, save for the very exceptional provision just indicated, all the schools are “provided” schools and all the teachers and managers directly under the control of the local authorities, what “facilities” are to be given for the continuance of denominational teaching in the “transferred” schools: are the state teachers to be allowed to

volunteer to give that denominational teaching; and is it to be part of the ordinary school time table?

For myself I have never believed that the three-fold proposition of my second query presents a situation incapable of adjustment. I believe it was within a hair's-breadth of adjustment in 1906. I believe it could be adjusted to-morrow if the public put its foot down and demanded a close of hostilities.

I therefore take an entirely optimistic view of the situation. I believe a settlement is possible—fair to all parties, and doing violence to the consciences of none. And I think the nation, in self-defence, should demand that a settlement shall be secured. Other nations are feverishly active, sharpening their brains for the international struggle in which all are plunged. And whilst we waste our time in profitless squabbling, a disparity widening and deepening is growing up between the education we give our children and the education they give theirs. It is high time, therefore, we set our hands free to deal with the real problems of the schoolroom:—the problems of the children's health, the size of classes, the character of the school premises, the necessity for better and more trained teachers, the length of school life, the half-time system, the suitability of curricula, and the relationship which should subsist between state grants in aid of public education and the contribution from local rates. These are the real problems as seen by the simple-minded educationist; and I know he is bewailing the fact that the theological disputant blocks the way to their adequate consideration.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

By SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B.

To the French Revolution, and to Condorcet in particular, England, amid much else, owes a certain equivocal terminology in educational organisation. In 1792 Condorcet was the reporter of a committee on public education, which sent up to the Convention a remarkable draft bill. Every village of 400 inhabitants was to have its "*école primaire*," or elementary school, attendance at which was to be compulsory. At the other end of the scale there were to be, dispersed throughout the whole of France, nine university colleges and more than a hundred "*institutes*." Intermediate between these upper and lower grades, each Department was to provide one or more "*écoles secondaires*," or secondary schools, this being the first occasion, so far as I am aware, on which that term was used. The particular bill thus influentially proposed never became law,¹ though the Convention presently decreed the universal establishment (on paper) of primary schools and the compulsory attendance of children over eight.² Condorcet's comprehensive plan for a graded educational hierarchy from the elementary school to the university, though destined almost immediately to influence educational organisation in France, and partly carried out by Bonaparte in 1802, apparently failed to inspire either Bentham or Whitbread, William Allen or Henry Brougham, so far as England was concerned. But what it eventually did for England was to give us a terminology of schools. This terminology dominated educational literature in France even during the Revolution; and, from about the middle of the nineteenth century, more and more submerging the ancient terminology of "writing school" and "Latin school" and "grammar school," also that of our own country. We owe to Matthew Arnold, and to the Schools

¹ *The Life of Napoleon I.*, by J. Holland Rose, 1902, vol. i. p. 295; *State Intervention in English Education*, by J. E. G. de Montmorency, 1902, pp. 104-5.

² Decree of December 25, 1793.

Inquiry Commission of 1864-8, the popularisation in England of the phrase Secondary Education, if not indeed, as an organised system, Secondary Education itself. But during the past generation the phrase has undergone a certain shifting of denotation. To Matthew Arnold, as to Condorcet, the secondary school included the school for children who intended to leave at fourteen, but did not include that of the youths who stayed until nineteen, who would be in the projected "institutes" of 1792, and in the classical and commercial "high" schools that Matthew Arnold desired.¹ To-day we include in elementary education whatever can be provided for, and made accessible to, all the children of the population; whatever schooling can be effectually placed at the disposal of every boy or girl, irrespective of the affluence of the parent or of any exceptional talent or idiosyncrasy of the child. And the amount, the variety, and the duration of this elementary education is always rising. To-day the primary, or elementary, school has stretched its bounds from twelve or thirteen right up to fifteen and even, by statute, to the end of the school year in which the scholar reaches fifteen. Including as it may every subject of instruction that can possibly be dealt with in those years, it is in process of absorbing or superseding the province of what the Schools Inquiry Commission called the third or lowest grade of secondary school.² On the other hand, the "high school," classical or commercial, now definitely takes rank among secondary schools, of which it forms the first grade; and mechanical and even technological instruction is no longer excluded from its curriculum. By

¹ "Throughout the country good elementary schools taking the child to the age of thirteen; then good secondary schools taking him to sixteen; with good classical high schools, and commercial high schools, taking him further to eighteen or nineteen; with good technical and special schools for those who require them, parallel with the secondary and high schools—this is what is to be aimed at." (See Matthew Arnold's article, in *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, by T. H. Ward, 1887, vol. ii. p. 279.)

² In 1820, said Brougham, "the number of children of an age capable of education was reckoned at one-ninth part of the whole population of a country at one time. He estimated them at one-tenth, although he knew that his opinion was contrary to that of almost every foreign writer on this subject." (Hansard, June 28, 1820.) In 1908 the proportion of the total population actually on the roll of the public elementary schools was, in England and Wales, more than one-sixth; or going on for twice what Brougham contemplated.

secondary education to-day we mean all the schooling, whether literary or scientific, artistic or technological, at whatever tender age it begins, which is arranged so as to continue up to a greater age than that of the elementary school; it is therefore a specially prolonged education organised for those boys and girls who are, on one ground or another, selected for this exceptional school training; it provides a richer and more elaborate cultivation of the faculties than the community can yet afford to extend to all its youth, or, indeed, yet knows how to adapt to all its intelligences, and one which accordingly comprises everything between the province of the elementary school and that of the university.¹

The most important item in any survey of secondary education in England and Wales in 1908 is not this or that arid parade of statistics, but the fact that secondary education has at last won its place in the national system. It is, so to speak, only the other day, and almost unawares, that we have come to admit that the secondary school has any necessary place in a national system of education. In spite of the really great achievements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in providing grammar schools,² all idea of secondary education, as anything but the luxury of the rich, seems to have been absent from the minds of the English reformers of the beginning of the nineteenth century. This slowness—and even a certain distinct reluctance—to accept the secondary school as a part of the national system is not altogether to be explained by the

¹ In addition to the books and reports cited, reference should be made to the extraordinarily valuable reports on secondary education made by Professor Michael Sadler on nine English counties and county boroughs, 1904-6; to the Special Reports on Educational Subjects of the Board of Education; to the Reports of the Royal Commissions of 1861-4, 1864-8, and 1893-5; to the interesting annual and other reports of the Technical Education Board, 1893-1904, and of the Education Committee, 1904-8, of the London County Council; to *Studies in Secondary Education*, by A. Acland and H. Llewellyn Smith, 1892; to *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Graham Balfour, 1898 and 1903; and to the present writer's *London Education*, 1904. A convenient bibliography of English publications on secondary education down to 1906 will be found in Baumeister's *Handbuch der Erziehungs und Unterrichtslehre für höhere Schulen*, 1897, with Dr. Karl Breul's description of our secondary schools of that date.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, by A. F. Leach, 1897; *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, by A. S. Green, 1894; *Our Public Schools*, by J. G. Cotton Minchin, 1891; *State Intervention in English Education*, by J. E. G. de Montmorency, 1902.

educational backwardness of England, or by the mountains of obstruction and difficulty which had to be got over by the nineteenth-century pioneers of national education. Unlike that of France or that of Scotland, the public educational system of England owes its real origin, not to any conscious appreciation of the function of the school among the institutions of the nation, but to what we may call philanthropic rescue work, in which the British and Foreign School Society has played so important a part. To William Allen and Joseph Lancaster, to Samuel Whitbread and Henry Brougham, what appeared so terrible was not the failure to utilise the most valuable of our national assets, the intellect of the race, but the fact that the children of the poor were growing up, by hundreds of thousands, untaught, undisciplined, and uncivilised, graduating, almost inevitably, in vice and crime. This led, not to national education in any real sense, but only to a movement for the universal provision of primary schools. Even so "advanced" a thinker as Francis Place seems to have no other vision than an elementary school in every parish.¹ To the "Early Victorian" democratic reformers there came presently, from misapprehended descriptions of New England, the ideal of the "common school," or school common to all social classes, in comparison with which the secondary school seemed merely a product of snobbishness and class distinctions. Right down to the end of the nineteenth century, we may detect, at the back of most of the educational demands of politicians of "advanced" opinions, traces of the notion that what it behoved the public to provide, throughout the length and breadth of the land, was a sufficient number of schools of one and the same type, preferably the best possible type, freed from all fettering limitations of age, or curriculum, or expense; so that for every five or six hundred families there should be such a rate-supported educational institution, in which all the boys or girls of the locality—some said all the boys *and* girls—should sit side by side receiving the same education, whatever their particular needs, whatever their social position, whatever their religion, whatever the probable length of their school life, or whatever the occupation for

¹ *Life of Francis Place*, by Graham Wallas; *The State in Relation to Education*, by Sir H. Craik.

which they were destined. Anything other than this glorified "common school" was regarded merely as the private luxury of the rich. Upon this conception, which still crops out in the minutes of Treasury clerks, and even in the phrases of members of the late school boards, the ideal "national system of education" consisted, as has been said, of nothing more than a sufficiently numerous supply of "the best possible board schools—and Eton!"

What we have learnt, gradually and slowly, is that nothing worthy of the name of a national system of education can be built up out of schools of a single undifferentiated type, however numerous and however excellent they may be. The aspiration after "common schools," in the sense of schools which should be effectually open to the poorest children, and should be used, without thought of class distinction, by children of different social positions, was and is an aspiration based on sound considerations, and one to be promoted in all possible ways. But "common schools," in this sense, do not necessarily mean schools of a single, uniform, undifferentiated type—still less only elementary schools. In truth, the notion was part of the "Early Victorian" habit, alluded to by Mr. H. G. Wells, of regarding as "democratic" nothing which could not be provided for the entire community in a "wholesale" way. But so infinitely varied is our individuality that, in matters of social provision as in tailoring, the wholesale supply, when we come more narrowly to scrutinise it, can be nothing better than a series of misfits. When a population is educationally as naked as was that of England half a century ago, it is socially so urgent to supply every one with some sort of outfit that accuracy of adjustment is of subordinate importance. The educational reformers of the middle of the nineteenth century were therefore right to insist on the provision of schools by wholesale. When, by the end of the nineteenth century, practically all our children were at school, the time was ripe for a further advance—for the provision of more accurately fitting educational garments. What was needed was, in all populous centres, the progressive differentiation of the publicly provided school—the "common school" of our Radical grandfathers—into a number of specialised schools each more accurately fitting the needs of a particular

section of children. "The first requisite in organising education," reported the Schools Inquiry Commissioners as long ago as 1868, "is to assign definite functions to the schools, so as to prevent all trying to answer every purpose, and thereby few succeeding in answering any." Thus, a local education authority such as that of London is already providing, not only boys' schools, and girls' schools, and infants' schools, but, for each sex, three or four different kinds of higher elementary schools and schools for the feeble-minded; day schools and boarding schools; blind schools and deaf schools; schools for the crippled and "open air" schools for the phthisical and anæmic; "ringworm schools" and "favus schools"; truant schools and industrial schools; domestic economy schools and a dozen varieties of "trade school"; and, among all the other specialisations, not only one but three or four different types of secondary school. The duty of the nineteenth century in education was merely to supply enough schools for all the children, and to get the children into them. The twentieth century recognises that its task is the more complicated one of providing every part of the country with the highly differentiated educational organisation necessary to ensure to every child *the particular kind* of schooling that it needs. "Without system, and concert, and thought," said Matthew Arnold, "it cannot be attained." This, at last, has now been recognised. And thus, by the Acts of 1902-3 and 1907—probably building better than we knew—we have not only placed every part of England and Wales in charge of a local education authority, but we have also made it the express duty of that authority to provide for all the people of its area, without limit of age or sex or class or fortune, without restriction in subject matter or cost, not elementary education alone, or technical education, but whatever kinds of education they may severally be deemed to require.

It is just because the task is not merely, or even mainly, to multiply schools, and roll up imposing statistical aggregates of children rescued from the streets, but the elaborate organisation, and the progressive specialisation, of a varied educational system for each locality, and the more and more precise adjustment of that system to the needs of the children of the particular locality, that the institution of a local education

authority charged with the work is the paramount subject for congratulation. From the Act of 1802, for the protection of parish apprentices, to the Act of 1902, for the creation of an education authority in every part of England and Wales, what a stride! Those to whom nothing is significant but statistics may prefer to recite the new and additional secondary schools already provided since 1902 in nearly every county; or the really significant fact that, in spite of the continued isolation of the hundred or more so-called "public schools," and of their 400 remarkable feeders, the private adventure preparatory schools of the wealthier boys,¹ there are in 1908 nearly 800 secondary schools actually at work under the Board of Education's regulations, inspection, and grants, with nearly 120,000 pupils,² and a scholarship system in full working order which far exceeds in effectiveness and scope the corresponding provision of any other country. But in truth, though we have everywhere secondary schools and pupils in rapidly growing numbers, these schools are still so varied in form of organisation and many of them still so isolated in their independence that we have, as yet, no comprehensive statistics of secondary

¹ It is a peculiarity of England—and one which makes our provision of secondary education look misleadingly small—that nearly every writer (the present being no exception) omits from his survey, not only the unknown host of so-called secondary schools conducted for private profit, but also the hundred or more so-called "public schools," which form the apex of our system and now contain some 30,000 boys; and, with them, their peculiar "feeders," the preparatory schools for little boys containing 10,000 more. The student may refer to the Reports of the Royal Commissions of 1861-4 and 1864-8; *Our Public Schools*, by J. G. Cotton Minchin, 1901; the volumes on *English Public Schools*, published by Duckworth in 1898-9; and the *Handbooks* to them published by Bell, 1900-2; the *Public Schools Year Book* (annual); *The Public Schools from Within*, 1906; the Board of Education "Educational Pamphlets," Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, on Modern Sides; "A Comparison between the English and American Secondary Schools," by George L. Fox, in the Board of Education's *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*. For girls' schools, now numbering about 400, see *The Renaissance of Girls' Education*, by Alice Zimmern, 1898; and *English High Schools for Girls, their Aims, Organisation, and Management*, by Miss S. A. Burstall, 1907. For preparatory schools, the first of which was founded in 1837 by Malden, see vol. vi. of the Board of Education's *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 1900; and "English Preparatory Schools" by John Tetlow, in *Educational Review*, April 1906.

² For these and all other figures, see the Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1905-6-7 (Cd. 3886, 1908); the Return as to Higher Education, 1905-6 (H. of C. No. 325 of 1907); and Summary of Figures relating to State-aided Secondary Schools (Cd. 3538, 1907).

education as a whole. It is more instructive to notice the conception that our local education authorities are forming of the great task of educational adjustment that they have, notwithstanding the characteristic English disclaimers and complaints of the cost, really so eagerly and so cordially undertaken.

Confining ourselves to that part of the differentiation and specialisation of the "common school" that concerns secondary education, we may note first the very general disappearance of the somewhat crude conception of a differentiation by the subjects taught. We realise now that there are no subjects which are "elementary" and none which are "secondary." There is no subject from which an elementary school is debarred; none which in a secondary school must be tabooed. Nor is the distinction simply one of age. Our local education authorities know now that they cannot grade schools so that all the children under twelve or thirteen shall be found in the elementary schools; all those between twelve and fourteen in the higher grade schools; whilst the secondary schools would contain none but those between thirteen or fourteen and nineteen. In truth, there are no more any special entering ages for elementary and secondary schools respectively than there are special subjects. "Too few pupils," deplores the Education Committee of the West Riding County Council, "as yet enter the secondary school *at an early age*."¹ Up and down the country the local education authorities really seem at last to have incorporated what the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission ought to have taught us forty years ago, namely, that the differential gradation of schools must depend, primarily, not on the entrance age of the pupil, but on the anticipated length of his school life. "Viewed in this light," said the Schools Inquiry Commissioners in 1868, "education . . . can, at present, be classified as that which is to stop at about fourteen, that which is to stop at about sixteen, and that which is to continue till eighteen or nineteen; and for convenience we shall call these the third, the second, and the first grade of education respectively. The difference in the time assigned makes some difference in the very nature of the

¹ Third Annual Report of the Education Committee, County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1907, p. 23.

education itself; if a boy cannot remain at school beyond the age of fourteen, it is useless to begin teaching him such subjects as require a longer time for their proper study; if he can continue till eighteen or nineteen, it may be expedient to postpone some studies that would otherwise be commenced early. Both the substance and the arrangement of the instruction will thus greatly depend on the length of time that can be devoted to it.”¹

Forty years' progress since the date of that report has, we may almost say, in London and other advanced educational centres, already eliminated the elementary school as it was understood in 1868. What the Schools Inquiry Commissioners had, perforce, to regard as a separate class, for whom nothing more elaborate could be provided than elementary education as then understood—namely, those who would leave school at twelve or thirteen—has practically ceased to exist in the Metropolis, and may, we hope, soon be everywhere ignored. Schooling up to fourteen at least we must now assume to provide for every child. Hence, instead of three grades of secondary schools, local education authorities find that they need to recognise to-day only two, namely, those in which a fair proportion of the pupils, however young may be their age at entrance, may be expected to remain until eighteen or nineteen (first grade secondary schools); and those in which the pupils, also whatever the entrance age, may be assumed to be intending to leave school at sixteen or seventeen (second grade secondary schools). “It is obvious,” said the Schools Inquiry Commissioners of 1868, “that these distinctions correspond roughly, but by no means exactly, to the gradations of society. Those who can afford to pay more for their children's education will also, as a general rule, continue that education for a longer period.”² It is a happiness to record the fact that this division by degrees of gentility no longer holds the field. Any such correspondence between first and second grade secondary schools, respectively, and what may be termed first and second grade social position is happily diminishing. What with scholarships and free places, what with the attendance of pupil-teachers at first grade secondary schools and the new grade of bursars, there is

¹ Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868.

² *Ibid.*

coming to be, in many districts of England, little difference in average social position between the pupils of a first grade and those of a second grade secondary school as such; although there are, of course, marked differences in this respect between school and school, irrespective of its educational grading. And though there are still essentially "class" schools—not alone among the endowed boarding schools, and private adventure "commercial academies" and preparatory schools, but even among those dependent mainly on public grants—the enormous multiplication of scholarships, the frequent reductions of fees, and the salutary requirements of county councils and the Board of Education, have already brought it about that the class distinction between elementary and secondary schools as such has everywhere been blurred, and sometimes practically obliterated. We may hope that this tendency will continue. Already we see the local education authorities, with the increasing co-operation of the Board of Education, progressing steadily towards a state of things in which, whilst the small minority of wealthy parents may, by heavy payments, still secure, even for their stupidest sons and daughters, the most prolonged educational advantages, the great bulk of the population will, by free places and scholarships, by entrance examinations and judicious selection, have access to just the kind and grade of schooling that their attainments and idiosyncrasies require. This will mean that, whilst the first grade schools will always contain stupid sons and daughters of wealthy parents, the bulk of their accommodation will, so far at any rate as most of these schools are concerned, be occupied by pupils, whether from wealthy households or not, who have been deliberately assigned to these schools, because such first grade secondary schools are those in which the public interest requires them to be. And whilst the second grade secondary schools will equally always contain, as fee-paying pupils, even the stupidest of the sons and daughters of the middle class, the great bulk of the pupils attending these schools will be those who, whatever their social class, have been deliberately selected to have that advantage, instead of the equally efficient but less prolonged training of the elementary school. This "democratisation of the secondary school" is the essential function and the social justification of that scholarship system,

which has, within the past decade, become so important a feature in English secondary education—a necessary feature of any really democratic educational system in which England is, without knowing it, now far in advance of France or Germany, Switzerland or the United States.¹

If it be asked how far can England and Wales be said, in 1908, to have progressed in equipping itself with anything like a satisfactory apparatus of secondary education, the reply is difficult to give with any precision. It follows from the very nature of the task that the answer cannot take a statistical form. In the matter of primary education, it is easy at any rate to compare the total number of children of school age with the number actually at school. The more difficult business of specialising the common school to meet the needs of different sections of children does not admit of any such simple arithmetical measurement. Precisely how far we have adjusted secondary schooling to the requirements of our people, no blue book can inform us and no man can declare. What we can notice is the far-sighted energy with which the Education Committee of the West Riding, for instance, has divided its great area, which has nearly one and a half millions of inhabitants, into seven sections, each of which requires a first grade school for boys and another for girls; and the seven sections into forty-five sub-districts, for each of which its own accurately adjusted supply of second grade schools has to be provided. Only about half of these sub-districts have, as yet, any secondary schools actually within their respective areas; but no fewer than eighteen new secondary schools are already provided or in course of being provided in this county alone, whilst fifteen have been, or are being, enlarged, improved, or

¹ It is usually forgotten, by Americans as well as by English admirers of the United States, that the most generous provision of free secondary education, *without scholarships covering maintenance*, leaves (even in the most advanced States) 80 per cent. of the children excluded, in practice, from anything beyond the elementary school. In Chicago the percentage so excluded is 97. It is very doubtful whether even in Massachusetts or Connecticut the proportion of children actually obtaining secondary education in 1908 is greater than in Surrey or Kent; whilst it is plain that the proportion in New York or Chicago falls below that of London or Birmingham. And this is apparently true for the United States as a whole compared with England and Wales as a whole. (See "A Comparison between the English and American Secondary Schools," by G. L. Fox, in Board of Education's Special Reports on Educational Subjects.)

reorganised. Under an energetic and well-thought-out scheme, the number of pupils in public secondary schools aided or wholly provided by the local education authority has increased, within four years, from 4155 to no less than 7317.¹ Or we may turn to the county of Kent, with its population of nearly a million, principally agricultural in its occupations, to note a rate of progress at least as great as that of the West Riding. Kent, four years ago, had but a score of publicly managed secondary schools with under 2000 pupils. By 1908 its twenty-one districts have, nearly all of them, one or more secondary schools either within its area or conveniently adjacent to it; the nineteen schools have increased to thirty-one, educating nearly 4000 pupils; and these do not include half a dozen first grade secondary schools which serve the county but do not receive aid from the local education authority.² The largest figures, though not the largest increases, are, of course, recorded by the Administrative County of London, with its four and a half millions of people, and no fewer than 106 secondary schools under essentially public management, of which at least a score are first grade. The past decade has seen, on an average, two new secondary schools opened each year, nearly all provided and maintained by the local education authority itself. How many pupils are now in attendance is not ascertained, as 40 per cent. of the schools are neither maintained nor aided by the local education authority, though nearly all of them are attended by the scholars whom it chooses under the largest scholarship scheme in the world. The total number of boys and girls in secondary schools in London must now exceed 50,000. London, in fact, has now actually a larger number of publicly managed secondary schools and pupils than any other city in the world—more than either Berlin or Paris; though not yet, it must be admitted, a number proportionate to its vast population. And if we turn to the twelve Welsh counties, with their million of inhabitants, we find, under Government inspection and public control,

¹ First, Second, and Third Annual Reports of the Education Committee, County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1905, 1906, and 1907; Statement in support of application to the Local Government Board for alteration of limit of expenditure on Higher Education, 1907.

² Special Report on Higher Education in the County of Kent, 1906 (Kent Education Committee); Fourth Annual Report (Higher Section) of the Kent Education Committee, 1906-7.

nearly a hundred secondary schools—four-fifths of them the outcome of the last twenty years—with a total attendance of boys and girls which by 1908 must have reached 13,000.¹

A mere multiplication of secondary schools in every county—especially when, as is sometimes the case, these are provided in substitution for the old pupil-teacher centres—does not, in itself, guarantee any real progress of secondary education. But it is common knowledge that the numerical increase in schools and pupils has been accompanied by a most surprisingly rapid improvement in every other respect. In buildings and equipment, in curriculum and staffing—in short, in every tangible factor of educational efficiency—the progress has apparently been greater during the last five years than during the whole of the previous generation. And if one may judge by the relatively small sample of the whole that any one person can be acquainted with, the improvement in the spirit in which the schools are conducted has at least kept pace with the progress of the material elements and the teaching staff. He is a bold man who ventures to compare one nation with another. No man has in his head any accurate general survey of a whole country. But though the particular excellencies of a selected sample can seldom be equalled elsewhere, they may be more often paralleled than is commonly supposed. Balancing one consideration with another, the present writer assumes temerarily to doubt whether the provision in all its varied forms actually made for secondary education in England and Wales—only a generation ago a bye-word and a reproach, and still horribly short of what it might easily be—is, viewed as a whole, now inferior, either in quantity or in quality, to that actually enjoyed by the boys and girls of Scotland, of the United States, of Switzerland, of France, or even of Germany itself.

¹ Report of the Board of Education for the year 1905-6 on the Administration of Schools under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889 (H. of C. No. 77 of 1907).

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

BY PROFESSOR FOSTER WATSON

IN considering the state of education in any country at the present time, we are struck by the immense diversity of the practical problems involved. We recognise the importance of a liberal education, of a technical education, of the education of the individual, and the education of society. We see that we must regard the child as an educational end in himself at his particular stage of development, and we also wish to regard him as the embryo man, and we wish to train him to be a future citizen. When we reflect on the diversity of practical aims to which the educationalist can direct his attention, we cannot easily see the form of the whole tree for the multiplicity of the boughs and the leaves. The great diversity of educational aims emphasises the claim that the teacher is, or ought to be, fully equipped for his task in the wisest, most intelligent, and capable ways which he can either devise, or be helped to devise.

It would be a mistaken view to suppose that the training of teachers began in England in the nineteenth century. Even the institution of the monitorial system, or pupil-teacher system, popularly supposed to have been introduced by Dr. Bell (who is represented as having discovered it in India, when at Madras), or by Lancaster, was current in England three hundred years earlier. Thus, in 1524, the statutes of Manchester Grammar School provide that "the high master for the time being shall always appoint one of his scholars to instruct and teach in the one end of the school, all infants that shall come there, etc.," and John Brinsley, in 1612, gives reason for believing that it was a general method employed in grammar schools in his time.

The training of teachers, therefore, in some form or other, claims a continuous history in English education. It changes its form, its aims, its methods, with the growth and development of learning, religion, commerce, trade, and indeed with

all great social and national changes. Training of teachers has sprung, in the past, from the need of imparting methods in the teaching of what was considered the most necessary knowledge of the times. It has had a practical aim, and a practicable justification.

Whilst the aims of training of teachers have been definite and restricted, and adapted to conditions relatively much more simple than those of our times, the principle involved is the same. The diversity of modern developments, of civilisation, of national consciousness, and of complexity in occupations, and in the pleasures and uses of life, rather emphasises than diminishes the need for the training of teachers. The nineteenth century entered into a new England, transformed by the introduction of steam, and all the inventions which marked the latter half of the eighteenth century. The age of the industrial revolution brought about the large factories, the multiplication of the products for trade exchange, a commerce of an incomparably greater kind than had been hitherto possible. It also brought about a new social order—the movement of population from the country to towns, the spirit of aspiration in a much larger number of individuals for important careers, and the indefinite multiplication of possibilities for each child. The excesses of child-labour, and inadequate and cruel conditions of life, aroused philanthropy to call for justice to the childhood of the nation, and to promote, in every way, opportunities for individuals to turn to advantage the new openings of a world conscious of its mighty progressiveness. The school was clearly the right place for securing the early interests of children, not only for the old religious reasons, but also on new economic, social, and human grounds.

From the point of view of the training of teachers, the problem was: How could a sufficient supply of teachers be found to meet the enormously increased demand? The nineteenth-century history of the training of teachers has thus been chiefly concerned with the quantitative output of teachers for the schools of the industrial classes.

The agencies by which teachers were supplied, up to 1833, were entirely voluntary. The Royal Lancasterian Society, afterwards called the British and Foreign School Society, was established in 1808, on religious, but unsectarian principles.

It was followed in 1811 by the formation of the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, and developed in school teaching the work of the older Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Joseph Lancaster, at twenty years of age, who hired a large room in the Borough Road, Southwark, and announced, "All that will may send their children, and have them educated freely, and those who do not wish to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they please," is a typical instance of the social movements which permeated the first half of the nineteenth century in Sunday schools, in mechanics' institutes, in the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The aims were religious, social, philanthropic. The problem was numerical. Lancaster got together 1000 boys. When he had his famous interview with King George III., that monarch was impressed, as he naturally might be, by the statement that one master "could teach 500 children at the same time." "Good," said the King; "Good," echoed a number of wealthy subscribers to Lancaster's projects. Similar approval followed the projects of Dr. Bell. The essential points of the schemes of Lancaster and Bell were the same. Briefly, the supply of teachers for the popular schools, established on voluntary lines, was to be met by a system of child-monitors, working under the direction of one or more masters. For such a system, the methods to be employed were perforce mechanical, the discipline military, and the objects restricted to the reading of the Bible, writing, spelling, and humble casting of accounts.

This slight curriculum, however, was soon found to be too great a strain, not only on the knowledge and skill of the very young monitors, but also on those of the adult teachers employed. Both the British Society and the National Society had to arrange for the training of the large number of teachers required for their schools. Borough Road became the Mecca of the British school teacher. To the large school there the men-teachers went *for three months* "to learn the system." The training consisted in "spending a week or more in each of the classes, from the lowest to the highest, and towards the end of the time, spending a few days in taking the formal oversight in turns of one section of the school, and finally conducting its collective drill." In the National Society's model

school, the teacher-in-training was required to become a pupil in each class of the school in succession, and take his place among the children of the class. The large army of monitors received their instruction from the "trained" teachers, or when the teachers had not had the advantage of a visit to these schools, to the chance attainments and ability of the teachers impressed into the service of these societies. For up to the Education Act of 1870, it is not too much to say that the chief voluntary efforts in popular primary instruction were centred in the British Society and the National Society, which brought within its influence most of the Diocesan Training Colleges. Some idea of the progress effected by the new school-impulse may be gained by the fact that between 1818 and 1833, the population increased by about 25 per cent., whilst the number of children in the primary schools had increased by nearly 100 per cent.; in 1851, the population had advanced by another (nearly) 25 per cent., and the increase on 1833 of children at school is estimated at about 85 per cent.

Still more than ever, in the primary system, the need of competent teachers was felt, and piece-meal, in accordance with English educational tradition, came the supply. In 1841, the National Society established St. Mark's College, Chelsea; in 1842, the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society obtained its new buildings. In 1844, the National Society took charge of the training school at Battersea. In 1846, a minute was issued from the Committee of the Privy Council by which training colleges, which now numbered nine, were to receive grants of from £20 to £30 for Queen's scholars in each of two years of training. In 1847 was instituted an examination for teachers' certificates, which was open to all teachers, but for which the standard was such as the training colleges found practicable to prepare their students. By 1851, 1100 teachers had obtained certificates, and 25 training colleges had been established. In 1870, there were 15 training colleges for men, 15 for women, and 3 colleges which trained both men and women teachers. It may be added that in 1870, it was calculated that there was fairly efficient primary education for one-third of the children of the nation.

It must be borne in mind that, in the early training colleges,

the period of "training" spread only over one year. In the case of promising students this period might be extended to two years; eventually two years became the recognised period, with a possible extension to three years. The work of the training colleges included the provision of teaching in the subjects of an ordinary secondary school as well as practice in school teaching and the lectures on school management. It was not until 1880 that we find the inclusion of the study of an educational classic. In that year Locke's *Thoughts on Education* was made a subject of study under the head of "School Management."

In 1870, school boards had been established to complete the voluntary system, fill up the gaps, and provide for the whole of the children of the people, by means of Parliamentary grants, rates, and fees. In 1876, school attendance committees were formed throughout the country, to enforce attendance of all children, which only left children of fourteen unconditionally free from school, though exemptions could be gained earlier. In 1891 primary education was made free.

The quantitative aspect of educational facilities having thus been developed, the qualitative side of the teacher's work had begun to be seriously considered. The standard of the teacher's certificate had been continuously increased, and the training colleges had risen to a much higher standard, both in the teaching of ordinary subjects of learning, and also to higher conceptions of professional training. The Board of Education has consistently helped in this development. Thus within the last ten years inspectors have urged the Residential Training College authorities to fill up all vacancies on the teaching staffs with university graduates. Often these have been men and women of high academic distinction. Again, there have been provisions from the Board of Education, giving elasticity and initiative to training colleges in the framing of their own syllabuses, and when the practical difficulties of examinations made a return to a restrictive policy necessary, considerable scope of alternative schemes were suggested for teacher's certificate examinations.

One of the foremost of all the training colleges in availing itself of all opportunities for advances was the "Borough Road" Training College of the British and Foreign Society.

Nor must be omitted mention of the great service rendered to primary education of the University of London, in which teachers both in and out of the training colleges found themselves able by untold sacrifices and self-determination and energy to perform the exacting duties of teaching in their schools, gaining their government certificates, and concurrently proceeding to a university degree. This movement represented an aspiration "from within" the body of teachers, recognising the dignity and importance of all teaching, and that the "makeshifts" of incomplete and unorganic preparation provided for them in the schemes of training must be supplemented to meet growing necessities.

The vitality of these efforts on the part of isolated and individual school teachers impressed itself on the imagination and the will of educational leaders and penetrated the political domain. In 1891, Day Training Colleges were established, securing the attachment of training facilities in the Universities and University Colleges for capable pupil-teachers and others desirous of becoming teachers in elementary schools to receive a liberal and professional education in the subjects of university degrees suitable for future teachers. The day training college system has thus been invaluable in raising the professional *status* of the elementary teacher, in raising his ideal of academic attainments, in bringing his ideal of professional work and skill into a comparison with that of workers in other professions.

There are now 14 University Day Training Departments for both men and women, and 3 for women only; 16 Residential Colleges for men only, 36 Residential Colleges for women only, and one for men and women (teachers of the blind). These numbers are exclusive of the new Municipal and County Training Colleges.

The University Colleges have, in many instances, established departments for the training of teachers for secondary schools, in some cases organising some of the technical work in common for both teachers in training for elementary and secondary schools, and in other cases entirely separating the two departments. The University of Oxford has made provision for the training of both men and women secondary teachers. The London Day Training College trains men and women teachers

for both primary and secondary schools. The provision for training of women teachers in secondary schools is in advance of that for men. In 1878, the Maria Grey College was established in Brondesbury. In 1885, the Cambridge Training College for women teachers in secondary schools was founded, and in the same year a secondary training department was organised in the Ladies' College, Cheltenham. Other secondary training colleges were opened: in 1888, the Mary Datchelor College at Camberwell; in 1892, the secondary training department of the Bedford College, London; in 1895, the Home and Colonial College Secondary Department at Highbury, St. Mary's College, Paddington, the Catholic Training College, London, and St. Mary's Hall, Liverpool.

It will thus be seen that the need for training of teachers for both elementary and secondary schools is clearly recognised, and that facilities are constantly being extended. It cannot be doubted, in connection with secondary teachers, the establishment of effective sanctions by the Teachers' Registration Council will eventually make training for all secondary teachers virtually compulsory. Amongst the facilities for training not yet mentioned should be named the Froebel Institute for the training of kindergarten teachers. Thus, training is now provided for every grade of teacher, with the exception of the university professor and lecturer. The universities have instituted teachers' diplomas, which hold the position for the secondary teacher which the Board of Education certificate affords to the elementary teacher.

The line of direction in all the movements undoubtedly is towards the requirement of the training of *all* teachers of every grade. The old form of pupil-teacher in the primary school has received its death-blow. The students in the elementary teachers' training college are now selected from the bursars in the secondary schools. This will raise the standard of preparatory education of the students, so that the knowledge of general subjects will be as great on entrance to, as in former generations it was on leaving, the college. The standard of entrance to a training college for elementary teachers in the future cannot be less than that of a university matriculation examination. The Board of Education now allow the training colleges to admit students for three years. Consequently

there is now no hindrance to a student's obtaining his university degree in ^{new}general knowledge, and concurrently receiving professional training, before he enters on his work as a teacher in an elementary school. An adequate standard is thus secured. The problem has again become quantitative. How many more (and, eventually, how can *all*) teachers of every grade required for service in the national system of schools have accommodation provided for them, by the extension of existing, and the erection of new, training colleges? When the qualification of training is recognised as the condition of teaching in all secondary schools, of being placed on the register of teachers, and when it is recognised that only those on this list will be eligible for high appointments in secondary schools, intending secondary teachers will find the necessity of training from both extrinsic and intrinsic reasons. The qualitative standard of the requirements of preparation of the teacher will once more be confirmed and intensified "from within." Primary and secondary teachers, with the feeling of a common profession, however differentiated in special emphasis in the direction of elementary and secondary school work respectively, will more and more become unified in spirit. Interaction and intercourse between different types of training colleges will thus tend to raise the standard of each, based on principles common to all.

The survey of the history of the training of teachers would show that the idea of training is continuous. In the Mediæval Ages, the teacher was in close conjunction with the Church ecclesiastic. Since then there has been a difference of opinion constantly arising as to whether teaching is a trade or a profession. Where opinion has inclined to the trade view, naturally the apprentice system of the old trade guilds has tended to prevail; where the opinion has prevailed that teaching is a profession, the tendency has been to approximate the training of the teacher to the training of other professional men, viz. university graduation (not merely to give the future teacher a knowledge of the subjects he has to teach, but also to bring him into touch with the general culture of the past and the present),—and professional training to make him, as the mediæval university degree named him (after he had proved his ability in teaching), "Master of Arts," in his

thoroughness of teaching as well as his tested sound equipment in liberal studies of a graduate course which had given him his degree of "Bachelor of Arts."

Whilst thus the university training of the teacher can trace a long ancestry, which is too often forgotten, modern conditions are very different from those of mediævalism. The mediæval conception of the unity of education was the unity of monotony—of single, simple aims that fitted into the organic absolutism of the scholastic system, and recognised that only a limited few could become learned, and these only by one way, and by the same round of subjects. Training-problems were relatively simpler. But in one respect mediævalism and modernism are at one. Both recognise that the way to distinction in knowledge and culture should be open to all.

The Education Act of 1902, which placed *all grades of education* within a county or borough under the same Education Authority, has given emphasis to the idea of the unity of education which it has never before received politically, and it must have great educational consequences. It cannot but lead logically to the recognition of the unity which underlies the conception of the training of all teachers—whether of the elementary, secondary, technical, or university grade.

The teacher, therefore, to be effective in the national system, must be trained in the future to a width of outlook which makes him competent to realise the social organism of which he is a part, to understand the essential characteristics of the life in which he moves and the precedent conditions which have led up to it, and to enter into the spirit and progress of the knowledge of the age. Not less must he have been placed within reach of acquiring knowledge of the broad humanism of the past great movements of history, and have been helped to realise the significance of the international movements of the present. If he have not thus been brought within reach of this knowledge and sympathy, he will scarcely be able to help fully to provide a wide and thorough basis for even the primary teaching of the future. For it must be remembered that now we have politically recognised the unity of education by placing primary, secondary, and higher education under the same administrative authorities, we have paved the way for ever-increasing numbers of the children of the primary

schools to advance and work through all the grades. The teacher, therefore, must be in touch with the educational organisations and aims of every grade of education. In the Welsh system of education, for instance, 80 per cent. of the pupils of the secondary schools come from the public elementary schools, and of course a very large proportion of the students of the Welsh University Colleges come from the Welsh secondary schools.

But there is the further problem of the development of knowledge and experience in the educational process itself. The study of education, like that of economics, has gathered round it, for its interpretation, so many subsidiary subjects, and needs so much in the way of in-gathering of reports of investigations in these different directions, that there is as much need of "Schools of Education" as of "Schools of Economics." To name some of these subjects which present themselves for inquiry in a thorough-going scientific spirit, we cannot omit the study of mind-processes in the child, as actually observed—the reactions to stimuli of the outer world and the inner world, in school and out of school, of the child as an individual and as a member of his class and of his own society, in free movement and under authority, the place of spontaneity and the place of restraint, questions of influence, the principles of physical training, founded upon physiology, including questions of fatigue, the principles underlying development of mental life, founded on psychology, including problems of attention, the physical training of children in groups (hygiene), problems of curriculum and methods, as well as organisation and administration, the place of studies as formal disciplines and as supplying useful information, the conditions of acquirement of skill in actual manipulation and investigation by the child himself, and the training to self-determination and initiative. It is difficult to realise all that has been done in such directions by investigation and experiment—by such men as Stanley Hall and Dewey in America; Ziller, Rein, and Lay in Germany; Meumann and Messmer in Switzerland—unless those writers and others are studied, and their results compared, and the future teacher brought to their knowledge and study. Professor Findlay of Manchester University in organising the Fielden Demonstration School has started this important direction of

work in England. Mr. M. W. Keatinge has written one of the most important of recent educational works on "*Suggestion in Education*." The knowledge of educational investigation and experiment requires development from university professors of education in the Universities and in the training colleges. The field of educational history and the history of culture requires much patient and laborious research, and the results to be made readily available. By these means will be brought together a large body of educational knowledge and an educational atmosphere will be provided. Training will then bring the teacher into the closest touch with the best professional knowledge, will afford the means of personal inquiry and interest, and give him a pride in his profession similar to that of the medical man who takes an interest in the reports of what is being done in hospitals and practice at home and abroad in advance of surgery and medicine, and similar to that of the lawyer in reading his reports of cases. The value of training in the future will be estimated by not only the teacher's skill in class management, but by his personal culture, his large-minded interests, and professionally by the wide margin of his professional knowledge of what has been done, and what is being done in education, by the resourcefulness of his powers of inquiry in finding the best aids for his work, and by the whole spirit in which he understands and promotes the advancement of education as a whole, as well as by the thoroughness of his individual work.

To help forward to realisation this professional attitude of the teacher towards his work is the vista which I see before the training colleges for teachers of every grade in our country.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

By GRAHAM WALLAS

THE English educational struggle of the last hundred years, when it is followed in the lives of its indomitable organisers, presents itself as a single campaign in which the issues were clear from the beginning, the forces on each side practically the same throughout, and the result a steady though still incomplete advance from one conquered position to another. At the beginning, the Church claimed, though she did not enforce, that monopoly of all education which was given her by the Act of Uniformity. Undenominational schools were few, ill-supported, and suspect. As the years went on undenominational education secured, first an appreciable share of the school supply, then aid from the central and local revenue, and finally a predominant position in the whole system. Decade by decade the historian of education can watch the slow increase of the type of school which bore the successive names of "British," "Board," and "Provided," until this year it represents three-fifths of the whole elementary accommodation. The same process may be followed in the supply of training colleges, of secondary schools, and of university education. One can imagine, indeed, one of the old heroes of Borough Road pointing to the statistical curves in the Board of Education blue book, and saying: "If you, our successors, fight as well as we did, these lines will continue to rise. If you show yourselves weak or neglectful, they will stand still or sink."

But this simple conception of a conflict between denominationalism and undenominationalism becomes more complicated as soon as one begins to look at the educational struggle of the past in its relation to the general history of England. Again and again the rival forces represented by the "National" and "British" schools came to a deadlock, and after each deadlock, progress was made possible, not by any increase of

determination or skill in the leaders of educational parties, but by changes in the general structure of English life, arising out of movements and forces having little or no conscious connection with education.

The *Edinburgh Review*, in 1833, referred to the failure of Brougham's Education Bill in 1820, and said: "Since the last signal defeat of the friends of national education in Parliament, twelve years or more have elapsed during which the subject has been scarcely alluded to." In the year that this was written, the first Parliamentary grant for education was voted, and the cause which made it possible was not the activity of educationalists but the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. Cobden, in 1851, said that for fifteen years he had tried to induce the religious bodies to take up education, and that he had "at last taken refuge in the secular system."¹ Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, referring to the same period, described, in 1859, his abandonment of hope from anything but a denominational solution. "I was led," he says, "to admit, what was very reluctantly forced on my mind, the weakness of any other principle [than religion]. . . . I believe that no civil body in this country apart from the Central Government has done anything worth speaking of for public education."² Cobden and Shuttleworth were two of the shrewdest men in England; and while Cobden stated that nothing was to be hoped from the religious bodies, Shuttleworth was equally sure that nothing was to be hoped from the civil bodies. Both were apparently right in 1859, and yet in 1870, because the Reform Bill of 1867 had meanwhile passed, an Education Bill creating local authorities was not only possible but inevitable.

In the same way Matthew Arnold and Huxley raged in vain for a quarter of a century at the indifference of the English people to the need of secondary and technical education. But in 1888 the House of Commons clamoured for such education, because the Germans, who certainly were not thinking of the desirability of improving English schools, had used the indemnity which they received after their war with France to make themselves serious rivals of England in the trade of the world.

¹ Cobden's *Speeches*, p. 568.

² *Newcastle Commission on Education* (1859), vol. vi. p. 305.

Whoever, therefore, wishes to forecast the future of English education during the present century must consider first, not the educational problem as it is, but the tendencies which may change its conditions.

The most important of those tendencies is, it seems to me, the steady growth of the size of English towns, and of the proportion of the English population living in them. In 1850, half the English people were urban, in 1900 more than three-quarters, and the process is still going on. The educational problem of the future is therefore, to borrow the title of Mr. R. A. Bray's eloquent book, the problem of the *Town Child*. The town child lives in an artificial environment; that is to say, he never sees or hears anything all day long, except the strip of blue sky on a fine morning or the note of a caged bird, which has not been given its form and colour and sound by the act of man. Sometimes his environment is the unintended result of things done by his elders without reference to their effect on him. No one, for instance, ever chose for the predominant colour of the London landscape as the London child sees it that peculiar tint which a yellow stock-brick acquires when it has been exposed for a few years to London smoke. Nor did any one ever decide that it was good for an East End child that his ears should throb all day and half the night with the sound of iron-shod wheels on granite setts.

But to an increasing extent the environment of the town child is now not only artificial but intended. The width and direction of the street in which he lives, the trams, open spaces, policemen, free libraries, are all deliberately made what they are for the sake of their effect on him, either as he is now or as he will be when he grows up. The effect of these things is therefore as truly part of his publicly provided education as are the lessons which he receives in school; and, now that in the large towns, at least, the provision of education is part of the general municipal administration, that fact will tend, I believe, to be more and more clearly recognised. When the town park-keeper now trains a boy to admire flowers without picking them, or the medical officer of health puts up a notice warning him not to eat unripe fruit, or the policeman prevents him, under Mr. Samuel's Bill, from smoking "substitutes professing to take the place of tobacco," they are in the most

literal and exact sense taking part in his education. In the same way the habits taught in the schools are beginning to be thought of as part of the health and police administration of the towns. As the system of medical inspection of school children develops, the town authorities in any district where the infant death-rate is excessive will first inquire whether the girls of their town leave school physically and mentally fit for the duties of motherhood. Some of the most important educational decisions of the future will perhaps be those which result from the fact that a town is turning from a manufacturing to a trading centre, or that its chief industry is failing and must either be stimulated or abandoned.

This sense of the unity and interdependence of public services under urban conditions will, one hopes, do much to cure that vice of educational thought which treats the expedients and even the names of the existing school organisation as eternal and sacred entities. In the early days of Bell and Lancaster popular education meant to more than half its supporters the method of teaching by child monitors. He who attacked the monitorial system, attacked education itself. Mr. Mozley wrote of the Church school managers in 1845, "They have been so long in the shackles of the existing system, and it has so far identified itself with their idea of an elementary school, that they find the utmost difficulty in separating themselves from it."¹ Mozley's *Report* introduced the pupil-teacher system, and we are only just emerging from a period in which it seemed as necessary that a teacher should have been a pupil-teacher as that a butterfly should have been a caterpillar. The name "School Board" and the expedient of *ad hoc* election identified itself still later with the idea of public educational control, and the abolition of school boards in 1902 seemed to many good Liberals as great a crime as would have been the burning of every board school. Perhaps the members and officials of town councils in the future, because they will have to think of the child population and its needs as a whole, will be able to rid themselves of the feeling that there is a necessary and eternal gulf between "elementary," and "secondary," or "technical" education, and even the "secondary" school master may gradually lose his rooted

¹ *Report on Midland Schools* (H. C. 1845, xxxii.).

belief that the fact that any subject or method is successful in his own school is sufficient reason why it should be excluded from the "elementary" school.

The second process which will, I believe, tend to transform in the coming century the conditions of the educational problem, is the growth of positive knowledge, and the consequently increasing authority of "science." Science is already, in a somewhat confused way, influencing educational method. Books on child psychology are ceasing to be mere collections of traditional maxims and ingenious guesses. Every one feels that a student of psychology who has never been in a school since his schooldays may to-morrow make, in a laboratory full of brass instruments, a discovery which will lead to a revolution in all our teaching. Already the really keen fights on the London Education Committee are started, not so much by religion and school provision, as by questions of "motor-sensory" or "heuristic" teaching.

And the growth of science will influence not only methods of teaching, but the choice of subjects to be taught. The older type of university education is dissolving before our eyes. The classical education of the secondary schools has before it the alternative of being absorbed into a general study of the history of civilisation or of disappearing entirely. Even the blameless ghost of Mr. Cowper-Temple, if he could spend a day in the British Museum looking, now at the relics of stonemen and lake dwellers, and now at those inscriptions of Mesopotamian and Egyptian kings which reveal organised imperial governments earlier than Archbishop Ussher's date for the creation of the world, might feel that his solution of the religious difficulty has to adjust itself to a new and wider atmosphere. The whole religious controversy may indeed find itself caught up and enlarged by a controversy on the "proper study of mankind" as keen as the mediæval conflict between humanism and scholasticism.

To some minds it appears obvious that our new scientific knowledge should be presented to the child mainly in the form of direct sensory experience, made more definite by actual measuring and weighing, and intended to stimulate and satisfy his spontaneous curiosity while it trains his fingers and his senses; and that this experience should lead up to the life of

the skilled mechanic or overseer, or in cases of unusual ability and devotion, to that of the scientific inquirer. To others, the interpretation rather than the bare observation of the universe seems the most essential thing in education. The town child, they feel, if he is to see any meaning in his environment, must learn that meaning less from his own weighing and measuring and touching than from books which record the experiences and achievements of mankind. He must, they believe, if he is to be educated in any real sense of the term, draw, in however simple a form, from history, literature, and even, if the sense of beauty return to us, from art, those deeper things of the spirit which are not to be found in test tubes and balances or on the manual training bench.

Future historians of our epoch may lightly decide that both these parties were right, because both elements are required in any true education; but the question has to be settled now by the drawing up of actual time-tables, and it is not likely that an agreement which will represent the best combination of the two elements will be easily reached. And both parties have also to face the intolerable difficulty of deciding whether they are preparing the town child for a life like that which he sees around him or for something better; and whether, in allocating the disputed half hours of the curriculum, it is more important that the son of a London labourer should be fitted to conceive and help to bring about a nobler London, or to earn higher wages at his father's trade, when higher wages may mean, as things are now, the only possibility for him of a civilised life.

A third social tendency, which is certain to exercise a marked influence on the future of education, is the claim now put forward by the workers in every organised occupation, whether it is a trade or a profession, to a larger share in the direction of their own work—a claim which will be asserted in the future with growing insistence both against the private and the public employer.

At this point, indeed, we are faced with an ancient difficulty in social structure. What is to be the relation between the organisations which represent the inhabitants of any city or district as craftsmen and producers, and those which represent them as citizens and consumers? In the mediæval city the indepen-

dence and internal discipline of the crafts made possible the splendid achievements of Florence and Bruges. But the craft guilds at the moment of their greatest efficiency fought in the streets against the merchant guilds or the common councils; and the failure of the cities to preserve their freedom under the new conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or to adapt themselves to the industrial changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was due in large part to that want of civic cohesion which was the result of these conflicts.

The whole problem was, it is true, forgotten in the social and intellectual confusion of the generations preceding our own. In England, for instance, we left, we did not know why, law and medicine to organise themselves with a dangerous, because unnoticed and undirected, completeness, while all the other arts remained unorganised except by spasmodic trade unions of working men or rings of employers. Now, however, the enormous necessities of our urban life are again bringing home to us the need of a conscious purpose in our work larger than that of the individual worker, and the question of the relation between producer and consumer is reappearing in something like its old form among a generation which has forgotten the experience of the past. We all agree, for instance, that, in education, the doctrine of "supply and demand," with its refusal to provide for any responsible organisation at all, is no longer possible. No one desires that middle-class education in London shall be left to those "schools for the sons of gentlemen" which advertise themselves along the Brixton Road. But we are not agreed as to the proportion in which responsibility should be shared in any new system by the organisations of consumers and those of producers. No one, except a few purists in the Social Democratic Federation, believes that the intellectual direction of a highly developed society can be founded on a voting nexus only, or that the sole initiative of all our collective administration can be divided between the members of Parliament and the committees of town councils. We therefore talk vaguely of teaching as a "profession," and Parliament every session creates or destroys a teachers' register to be controlled by representatives of the teachers themselves, and consisting, according to the whim of the moment, of separate or amalgamated columns for elementary

and secondary schools. But no one has seriously asked what rights are to be given either to the individual registered teacher or to the professional body.

As far, indeed, as English education is concerned, the whole question of the relation of the teacher to his work is settled chiefly by the accidents of history. Those forms of education which during the first half of the nineteenth century were supported by ancient endowments, the universities, that is to say, and the public schools, are controlled almost entirely by the teachers, while those forms of education which were provided during the second half of the nineteenth century by public grants or maintenance are for the most part actually governed by non-teaching amateurs, who are either members of elected bodies or are nominated by such bodies. The "non-provided" elementary school represents a still older type in which the school is controlled by the clergyman who, though he is a professional in regard of his own work, is an amateur in his relation to the teacher.

This distinction between the comparative independence of a university professor or a public school head master and the real subordination of the teacher in a public elementary school or even in a municipal school or college of whatever grade, corresponds, of course, to the fact that on the whole the independent teachers are teaching more difficult subjects to older students. But the correspondence is very rough. The head, for instance, of a municipal training college is obviously doing much more advanced work than the head of a small endowed grammar school in a country town. If the distinction is to be justified by differences of higher and lower in education, it will have to be very largely modified. Greater freedom will have to be given to the teachers in the new institutions, and some of those in the old institutions will have to lose part of their existing freedom.

It has always seemed to me that the associations of the word "manager" have had a good deal of effect in emphasising and preserving this distinction. As a matter of historical fact the elementary schools of the country were originally built for philanthropic or denominational reasons by clergymen or committees who themselves subscribed or collected every year the money for the salary of the teacher whom they appointed,

controlled, and dismissed. The late Bishop Fraser once described the result as he used to see it when he was an inspector of schools. He said that one morning he asked his clerical host who was the intelligent-looking young man who had brought him his boots. "Oh," said the rector, "that was my schoolmaster." Robert Lowe strengthened this tradition by his New Code of 1861. He was a devout political economist of the most rigid Middle Victorian type, and therefore, just as the early English rulers of Bengal asked in each village who was the "landlord," with a conviction that a landlord must exist everywhere, so Lowe approached the question of elementary education by asking who was the "employer." He decided that the manager of a school was the employer in the fullest sense of the term of all the teachers in the school, and thenceforward all government grants were paid to managers and all responsibility, as far as the state was concerned, was attached to them only.

The first members of school boards were men and women trained in the management of voluntary schools. They found themselves still called the managers of their schools in the Government Code, and they looked on themselves as the thinking *entrepreneurs* in a business in which the teachers were the executive hands. The tremendous influence of English social tradition helped to make this assumption easier. The early voluntary managers and members of school boards were "gentlemen and ladies." The teachers were not; nearly all of them had indeed spent the whole of their lives whether as pupils, pupil-teachers, or teachers in elementary schools and diocesan training colleges saturated with the feudal manners of the English village, and providing few opportunities of genuine intellectual stimulus.

But the educational equipment of the elementary teacher improved at the same time as it was discovered that the school boards, whether in town or village, were not wholly composed of men whose culture and social position raised them above the possibility of criticism. This change did not at first make much difference in the conception of their own position held by the school board members. The farmers on the village boards still looked on the schoolmaster as a particular kind of labourer, and the tradesman on a town board still looked on

the teachers as his social and intellectual inferiors. It made, however, a great difference in the attitude of the younger and more vigorous teachers. Perhaps, indeed, the most important of the many important effects of the Borough Road Training College on English education has been the influence of its freer atmosphere on the minds of a number of able young teachers, who utterly rejected the identification of the board member or the curate with "the squire and his relations" in the village prayer. If they were to be treated as "hands" they could at least form a trade union, and the National Union of Teachers showed the average clergyman or chairman of a school board, to his extreme annoyance, that he had to deal with the officials of a great organisation who could pillory him in their newspaper, boycott his school, and bring effective political pressure to bear upon Vice-Presidents of Council.

Meanwhile certain elementary schools evolved into higher grade schools and schools of science, while others became pupil-teacher centres; and the larger town boards appointed some of the ablest of the head teachers as board inspectors. Then the Act of 1902 again changed the position. The ordinary member of a town council brought to his new educational work not the tradition of the school manager, but that of the administrative municipal committee accustomed to act on expert official advice. The teachers both in the higher and elementary municipal schools had therefore to deal henceforth with professional officers whose own relation to their committees was rather that of the chief technical expert in a joint stock business to his directors than that of a "hand" to his "employer." Under the new system the municipal teacher does therefore in part gain that which the teacher in those endowed schools, which are now coming under some measure of municipal control, loses in independence, and already the "Local Managers," whom the Act of 1902 insisted on endowing with a statutory existence, complain that it is difficult for them to form an intelligible idea of their position in the new administrative system.

This tendency towards a more equal distribution both of discipline and self-respect among the teachers in different types of schools is not likely to stop at the exact stage which it has now reached. A generation hence the heads of Oxford and

Cambridge Colleges may be lamenting the fact that they are liable to dismissal unless they perform a definite list of duties to the satisfaction of some one else, while the youngest teacher in an elementary girls' school may feel that she belongs to a profession which will not only ensure her fair treatment, but will stimulate her work by a conscious connection with the traditions of a great and progressive art.

Yet the closer organisation of the teaching profession, however much it may improve the position of the teacher, will undoubtedly increase both the complexity and the difficulty of educational administration. It is easy to say that the elected representative should direct the purpose of education, and that the expert teacher and official should contrive the method by which that purpose may be carried out. But in education purpose and method are closely intermingled, and the representative, however conscious he may be of his own ignorance, will always fear to leave the ultimate decision even on method to men and women who may be half consciously biassed in favour of their own teaching habits and of the subjects which they learnt during their student years. The problem is, nevertheless, here upon us, and it may be that in the schools and universities a practical compromise between the will and needs of the consumer and the knowledge and interests of the producer will have been successfully brought about a generation before the question is even consciously faced in the factory and the mine.

At this point, however, that old member of the Lancasterian or British and Foreign Committee (James Mill, perhaps, or William Allen), whose point of view I tried to give at the beginning, might break into the argument and say, "Yes, your problems of city environment, and the growth of science, and the difficulties of professional and political organisation are all important, more important than we perhaps expected. But our difficulties are still there, in the 'single-school' districts monopolised by denominational management, and the exclusive training colleges almost entirely supported by public funds. Nor will they be settled without a good deal of hard fighting as well as hard thinking." And one could only answer, "That, after all, is true."

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS.—B.R., *Borough Road Institution*; J.L., *Joseph Lancaster*; T. Coll., *Training College*.

- Aberdare, Lord, 199, 201, 226
 Aberdeen, Lord, 254
 Abolition cause, 86, 224
 Ackworth School, 39, 96 *n*.
 Acland, A. H. D., 237, 254, 286 *n*.
 —, F., 255
 Adam, Sir F., 87, 106
 —, W., 52, 72
 Adams, J. Q., 86
 Adelaide, 169
 Adult schools, 39, 180-1 *n*.
 Affiliated schools, 222-3
 Africa, 86
 African students, 43, 245
 Agency work, chapter xi., 104,
 158, 218-22
 Aggs, H. G., 255
 Ainslie, R., 152
 Albert, Prince, 165, 195, 267
 Alexander, Czar, 91, 100
 —, G. W., 145
 Alexandra, Queen, 254
 Allen, William, 15, 42, 48, 51 *n*., 53,
 58, 60, 69, 70, 81, 90, 97 *n*., 99,
 104, 105, 106, 118, 128, 158-9,
 166, 170, 176 *n*., 194, 216, 284,
 287, 318; joins Lancaster's Com-
 mittee, 35; his character, 35-6;
 first at B.R., 37, 40-1; and
 Lancaster, 41, 58-9; and Duke
 of Kent, 61, 62; and Place, 83;
 and Fox, 84-5; foreign interests,
 86-7, 90, 95, 100-1; Bible lessons,
 95-6, 100; and Brougham's Bill,
 101; and Lindfield, 102
 Althans, Mr., 104, 159
 Althorp, Lord, 122
 Amboyne, 90
 America, J.L. in, 69-71, 87, 88,
 105, 181 *n*., 224, 294, 296
 Amorbach, 99
 Antigua, 54 *n*., 90, 170
 Apostles' Creed, the, 247-8
 Apprentices, J.L.'s, 61-4
 Arabs at B.R., 110
 Argyll, Duke of, 159
 Arithmetic, mental, at B.R., 113
 Arlesey School, 43
 Armenian at B.R., 245
 Armstrong, Mr., 149, 154-5
 Arnold, Matthew, 132-3 *n*., 182-3,
 284-5, 289, 309
 Asia Minor, 107
 Askesian Society, 35
 Asquith, H. H., 254
 —, R., 255
 Athens, 107, 223
 Attendance, school, 126, 176-7,
 229
 — Committees, 301
 Australia, 111, 158, 167-9
 Austria, 89
 Auxiliary societies, 84, 104, 117;
 France, 93; Australia, 169
 Backhouse, Jas., 111, 168, 170
 Bahamas, 225
 Baines, Sir E., 146
 Balfour, A. J., 234, 248, 273, 275
 Balkan Peninsula, 107
 Baltimore, J.L. in, 69
 Bangor College, 158, 160, 166, 175,
 195, 198 *n*., 200, 237, 242,
 243
 Baptists, 217
 Barbadoes, 109
 Barclay, Charles, 72
 —, David, 52, 72
 —, Gurney, 52
 —, Robert, 255
 Barkby, E., 208, 241
 Barking, Bishop of, 255
 Barlow, Sir T., 255
 Barnett, P. A., 195 *n*., 241
 Bath, J.L. at, 46
 Battersea College, 300
 Bayley, E., 255
 Bedford, the sixth Duke of, 13,

- 22 *n.*, 24, 25, 51; 61-2, 70-2, 89, 101, 159, 171
 Bedford, the 7th Duke of, 159, 171
 — College, 303
 Belgium, 98-9, 105
 Bell, Andrew, 6, 12-13, 17, 49, 50, 56, 72, 91, 297, 299, 311
 Bellers, John, 38-9
 Belsey, E. F., 255
 Belvedere Place, 9, 10, 44, 85, 240 *n.*, 242
 Bengal, 90, 316
 Bentham, J., 83, 94, 284
 Bequests, 244
 Berlin, 295
 Bernard, Sir T., 1, 2, 35
 Beyens, Mr., 99
 Bevington, S., 72
 Bible (*see also* Religious education), 184, 251-2; in school, 249-50; lessons, 12, 93-4, 95-6, 113; reading, 4, 5, 156-7, 161, 189, 190, 192, 211, 214-5, 259-60; teaching, 193-5
 Bible Society, 40, 84, 107, 248-9
 Binney, Thos., 226
 Birkenhead School, 201
 Birmingham, 145, 186, 189, 207 *n.*, 270-1, 294 *n.*; J.L. at, 46; Religious Education Society, 215.
 Birrell, A., 254; his Bill, 273-4, 282
 Bishop, Miss, 204 *n.*
 Blankenburg, 204
 Board of Education, 127, 129, 177, 232
 Bogota, 108
 Bohemia, 224
 Bolivar, 69, 108
 Bolton, J.L. at, 45
 Bombay, 90, 110
 Bonner, Elizabeth, marries J.L., 16
 Bonwick, J., quoted, 110, 161
 Borough Road Institution, the school, 8; date of, 9; made free, 9; methods at, 11-12; "the plan" at, 16-18, 18-22; girls' school, 21, 78, 196; cost of education at, 40; printing office (*see*); finance committee and, 44; expenses of, 51; foreign students, 54; handed to committee, 59; Lancaster's apprentices at, 61; Lancaster attacks, 69; rebuilding of, 78; decline of boys' school, 79; new house at, 85-6; French students, 91-2; church attendance, 95; out of debt, 97; school fees, 103; superintendent, 104-5, 107; Greeks at, 107-8; missionaries trained at, 109; Arabs at, 110; Malagasi at, 111; lack of students, 112; school described, 112; arithmetic and religious teaching, 113; increase in students, 117; and inspection, 131-3; position in movement, 134-5; number of scholars at, 134 *n.*; grant for, 135; rebuilding of, 136; expenses, 141; Unitarian criticism of, 153; changes, 157; summer schools at, 157, 162; new reading books, 160-1; "simultaneous" method, 161; pupil-teachers at, 162-5; Government grants, 164; Welsh teachers at, 165-6 *n.*; Spaniards at, 167; Australian teachers at, 169; lack of students, 181; finance, 182; religious atmosphere, 194-5; principals, 195 *n.*, 196; fire at, 199; enlargement, 199; report on, 208; efficiency, 209; practising school, 209-10; subjects of study, 210-11; music and drill at, 212; breakfasts at, 213; characteristics of students, 213; Memorial Hall, 214; Undenominationalism at, 216-17; and foreign interests, 224-5; changes of staff, 225-6; removal to Isleworth, 239-41; practising schools, 242-3; foreign students at, 245; and London University, 245; miscellaneous, 34, 39, 64, 176, 230, 236, 299, 301, 308, 317
 Botany Bay, 111 *n.*
 Bourke, Governor, 168
 Bourne, Rev. A., 186, 191, 195 *n.*, 199 *n.*, 200-1, 204 *n.*, 205, 226, 241, 253 *n.*
 Bournon, Count de, 91
 Bovey, H. T., 255
 Bowring, Dr., 154
 Brabrook, Sir E. W., 255
 Bray, R. A., 310
 Breakfasts at B.R., 213-4
 Brecon T. Coll., 152, 165, 198
 Brentford, 243
 Bright, John, 207
 Brinsley, John, 297
 Briscoe, J. L., 179
 Bristol, 27, 84, 145, 155, 219, 223;

- J.L. at, 7, 22-4, 45; T. Coll., 144, 160, 162-3, 225
- Bristow, Canon, 248
- British and Foreign School Society, its founding, 32-3, 263, 298; and Bible Society, etc., 40 (*see* Finance Committee), 58-9; takes over B.R., 59; relations with J.L., 59-65; meetings at Kensington Palace, 61-4; title adopted, 64-5; in 1814, 67; attacked by J.L., 69 *n.*; Committee of 1814, 72-3; Rules, 73-6; effect of J.L.'s separation, 77-8; its debts, 81; public support, 81; application for grant, 81, 103; organisation planned, 84; new house for, 85-6; and foreign movements, 86-94; its religious attitude, 94-6; and death of Duke of Kent, 100; opposes Brougham's Bill, 102; financial appeal, 103; finances, 103, 140-1, 146 *n.*; foreign interests, 104-11; and state aid, 123-4; and voluntarism, 126; and Brougham's Bill, 128; and inspection, 128-33; memorial of, 128-30; and T. Coll., 135-6; and its students, 137-8; and Graham's Bill, 140; and Congregational Board, 141-6; Conference (1844), 141-3; and grants, 142-6; accepts unconditional grant, 143; Conference (1847), 144-6; and Unitarians, 146-51, 152-6; and teachers, 158; changes at B.R., 157-61; and work in Wales, 165-6; foreign work, 167-71; sub-committee on West Indies, 167; and Australia, 168-9; widened influence, 175; and Newcastle Commission, 178; and Lowe's Code, 179-80; and science teaching, 181 *n.*; and W. F. Forster, 183-4; and his Bill, 183-9; Gladstone and, 187; and religious teaching, 190-2; and Mrs. MacRae, 197; and supply of teachers, 198; and government of T. Colls., 200-1; and Homer-ton, 202-3; and teachers, 203, 249; finance, 204; and kindergarten, 205; and its teachers, 214; its agents, 218-22, and foreign work, 223-5; and fee grants, etc., 230; and Voluntary Schools Act, 231; and the Codes of 1900-1, 232-3; and Acts of 1902-3, 234-5; and local authorities, 236-8; policy *re* colleges, 237; and schools, 238; office removed, 242; and college proposals, 244; religious attitude, 247; obtains charter, 250-1; future work, 251-2, 260, 318
- British North America, 105, 108-9
- British schools, number, 82, 158, 182 *n.*, 231-2, 308; and Act of 1870, 184 *n.*, 185, 187-9 *n.*; policy of, 235
- British School Associations, 231
- British School teachers, 157, 161-3, 213-4, 219, 248
- Brodie, Mr., 208
- Bromley, W., 88, 104, 108, 169
- Brougham, Henry, 51-3, 72, 82, 94, 101-2, 109, 117, 121-2, 127-8, 136, 139-40, 148, 152, 165, 284-5 *n.*, 287, 309
- Bruce, G. L., 255
- Bruges, 314
- Brussels School, 98-9. *See* Belgium
- Bryce, James, 247, 255
- Buckinghamshire, 165
- Buddhists at B.R., 110
- Buenos Ayres, 108
- Burgess, Ed., 207
- Burnet, Rev. J., 145
- Burrell, A., 195 *n.*, 241 *n.*, 255
- Butler, Bishop, quoted, 5
- Buxton, Sir E. N., 159
- , T. F., 52-3, 72, 109
- , Sir T. F., 207, 255
- Byron, Lord, 72, 94, 106
- Cadbury, G., 255
- Cairo, 110, 170
- Calcutta, 90, 110, 170
- Calvinistic Methodists, 165
- Camberwell School, 21
- Cambrian Education Society, 165
- Cambridge, 318; J.L. at, 25
- T. Coll., 303
- Cambridgeshire, 165
- Cameron, R., 255
- Canada, 88; J.L. in, 69
- Canning, G., 101
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, 55, 279; school at, 19, 23-4, 27, 55, 61
- Cape Colony, 90, 105

- Caracas, 22, 69, 108
 Carlisle, Bishop of, 254
 —, Earl of, 143, 159
 Carlyle, T., 155, 183
 Carmarthen, J.L. at, 23
 Carnot, 92
 Carrington, Lord, 72, 94, 254
 Catholic T. Coll., 303
 Catholics, Roman, 152, 154, 156, 170
 Ceylon, 110
 Chamberlain, Jos., 189
 Chancery proceedings threatened, 147
 Charity Commissioners, 101
 Charity schools, 4-5
 Charter of the B.F.S.S., 250-1
 Cheadle, J.L. at, 45
 Chelsea School, 78
 Cheltenham, 153
 — T. Coll., 303
 Chester, J.L. at, 45
 Chicago, 294 *n.*
 Chichester School, 48
 Child-study, 246, 306, 312-3
 China, 111
 Christophe, King Henry, 90
 Christy bequest, 244 *n.*
 Church of England, 139-40, 216-7, 264-5, 272
 Citizenship and education, 192, 256-60, 313
 Clarke, T. G., 255
 Clarkson, T., 7, 52, 54, 94, 109
 Clewer School, 19
 Clifford, Lord, 72
 —, John, 255
 —, Hon. R., 72
 Close, Fr., 153
 Cobbett, W., 122
 Cobden, R., 151, 155-6, 183, 240, 309
 Cockerton judgments, 233 *n.*
 College building, 175
 Colleges, training, chapter x.; growth of, 200
 Collings, Jesse, 189
 Collyer, Dr., 72, 94
 Colombia, 108
 Committee of Council, 127, 163, 264-5
 Compulsion, 11, 126, 177, 188, 229
 Concordat, the, 127, 130-1
 Condorcet, 284-5
 Conferences (1836), 161; (1844), 141-3; (1847), 144-6; (1903), 235
 Congregational Union and B.F.S.S., 141-6
 Congregationalists, 166 *n.*, 217
 Constantinidis, George, 106-7, 224
 Constantinople, 100
 Continuation work, 252
 Cook, F. C., 265-7
 Cooper, Sir Astley, 42
 Co-ordination, 230-3
 Corby Schools, 201, 247
 Corderoy, G. A., 255
 Corfe, 106
 Cork, J.L. in, 48-9
 Cornwell, Dr., 135-6, 159, 195 *n.*
 Corporation of London, 135-6
 Corston, William, 13-15, 22-3, 26-8, 32-4, 36-8, 41-2, 48, 51 *n.*, 58-60, 62, 70, 72, 78, 80, 97 *n.*, 102, 159, 162
 County Educational Associations, 165
 Coventry, J.L. at, 46
 Cowper-Temple, 184, 278, 280-2, 312
 Cramp, J. M., 104
 Cranbrook, Lord, 230
 Crewe, Earl of, 254
 Cross, Lord, 232, 267
 Crossley, J. T., 79, 105, 110, 112, 116, 146, 159-61
 Curriculum, College, 210-1
 Curtis, J. C., 195 *n.*, 208, 226, 241
 Dale, R. W., 215
 Dalhousie, Earl, 108, 109
 Daniel, Mr., 80, 83
 Darlington College, 175, 199, 200, 201, 210-12, 237, 243-4
 Darnley, Earl, 72
 Day Training Colleges, 302
 Debts, J.L.'s, 20-1, 23, 26-8, 31, 33, 41, 51, 63; of B.F.S.S., 81, 97, 103, 118
 Denmark, 88, 105
 Denominational education, 142-3
 Dent, J. M., 255
 Depository, 95-6, 141, 148-9, 222
 Deptford School, 43, 51
 Derby, 46, 152
 Devonport, 219
 Devonshire, Duke of, 159, 253 *n.*
 Dewey, —, 306
 Dicksee, J. R., 213, 241
 Dickson, H., 107
 —, Mrs., 223
 Dilke, Sir C., 233 *n.*

- Dillwyn, L. L., 201
 Dixon, Mr., 189
 Doreck, Miss, 204 *n.*
 Dover School, 20, 23-5, 27, 45, 47
 Drill, 20, 212
 Dublin, 22, 48, 87-8, 118, 161
 Dudley, C. S., 72
 Dunlop, Miss J. M., 242, 255
 Dunn, H., 104-5, 108, 116, 127, 131-3, 137, 147, 152-5, 159-60, 163, 168, 179, 184, 194, 225
 Durham, 244
 —, Dean of, 255
 — University, 237
 Eardley, Lord, 72
 Ebrington, Lord, 51
 Edinburgh, J. L. at, 50
Edinburgh Review, 309
 Education Act (1870), 183-9, 270-2, 309; (1902), 272-3, 289, 309; (1907), 289
 Education Aid Societies, 207 *n.*
 Educational inventions of J. L., 16-17
Educational Record, 161, 181, 184-7, 213, 215, 233
 Education Department, 127, 186, 243-4
 Education, J. L.'s views of, 10-12
 Education League, 189-90
 Edward VII., 239, 246, 254
 Efficiency, 126, 132, 178, 209, 221
 Egypt, 105, 110-11, 170
 Egyptian students, 245
 Elementary education, 263-83
 Emancipation, 122, 158
 Enthusiasts and B.F.S.S., 36-8
 Eton, 288
 Evangelicals and B.F.S.S., 38
 Evans, John, 72
 Eve, Miss, 255
 Evening schools, 233 *n.*
 Exeter Hall, 212, 147 *n.*, 212
 Exhibition of 1851, 165
 Expulsions, 211-12
 Extravagance of J. L., 22
 Fabian, Lieut., 104
 Fairbairn, A. M., 255
 Favell, S., 72
 Feldborg, —, 88
 Fell, J., 72
 Fellenburg, 86
 Fellows, Mr., 195 *n.*
 Fiji, 225
 Finance, 83, 164. *See* B.F.S.S.
 Finance Committee, Lancaster's, 42-4, 50-3, 59
 Fincham industrial school, 13, 37
 Findlay, Prof., 306
 Fingall, Earl, 72
 Fitch, Sir J. G., 159, 181, 195 *n.*, 197, 206, 213-4, 226, 234, 253 *n.*
 Fletcher, Rev. A., 72
 Flight, T., 72
 Florence, 224, 314
 Foreign bursaries, 245; interests, 86-94, 104-11, 167-71, 222-5; members, 167 *n.*
 Forster, R., 105, 159, 166, 179, 183, 216, 225
 Forster, W. E., 151, 155, 183, 226, 229, 246, 270, 278; his Bill, 175, 197, 223, 229
 Fortescue, Earl, 226, 247
 Foster, Joseph, 35, 42, 51 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 69, 70, 72, 97 *n.*, 159
 Foster, J. E., 255
 Fox, Dr. (of Bristol), 45
 Fox, C. J., quoted, 36
 Fox, George, 38-9
 —, Joseph, 32-5, 40-2, 48, 51, *n.* 3, 58-62, 69, 97, 101, 153, 194; meets J. L., 25; account of, 25; and Corston, 26; his plan, 28; character, 37-8; and Place, 83, 95; death, 84-5
 —, Samuel, 39
 France, 87, 90, 91-4, 104-5, 122, 224, 257-9, 284-5, 287, 294, 296, 309
 Franklin, Sir J., 169
 Fraser, Bishop, 226, 316
 Freame, John, 96, 113
 Frederick William III., 91
 Free education, 117, 229-30
 Free scholars at B.R., 8, 9
 French students, 245
 Friends, J. L. and the, 7, 9, 10, 23. *See* Quakers
 Froebel, 204, 206 *n.*; Institute, 303; Society, 246-7
 Frossard, E., 92, 99
 Fry, Elizabeth, 10
 —, Jos., 52
 —, Lewis, 255
 Future of education, 308-18
 Future work of B.F.S.S., 251-2
 Gaelic Society, 88
 Gallardo, Don Diego, 167

- Garcia, Mr., 108
 Garnett, W., 255
 Gaultier, Abbé, 92
 Gérando, Baron de, 92
 Germany, 89, 90, 294, 296, 309
 George III., 55, 57, 112, 299; J.L. and, 13-15, 23-4
 — IV., 67, 72, 82, 91; and J.L., 55
 Gibson, E. B., 255
 —, G. S., 207
 —, Milner, 151
 Girls' schools, 77-8, 107, 117. *See* B.R.
 Gladstone, G., 255
 —, W. E., 165, 187, 270
 Glasgow, 50, 161
 Gnadenenthal, 90
 Goodhart, F. J., 255
 Gorst, Sir J., 233
 Government aid, opposition to, .. 81-2, 133, 142-6; unconditional grant, 141, 142-3; and pupil-teachers, 164; aid in B.W.I., 168, 263-83
 — and B.F.S.S., 219-20
 — and education, 125-33, 135, 229-34
 — and training colleges, 301
 Graham, Sir J., 139-40, 142
 Grants, state, 123, 127, 135, 178-80, 232-3
 Granville, Earl, 179, 195, 226, 240
 Grattan, H., 72
 Greece, 105-7, 167, 223-4
 Green, S. W., 255
 Grellet, Stephen, 90, 98, 100
 Gresham Commissioners, 245
 Grey, Lord, 115-16, 121, 124, 171
 —, Sir George, 159
 Griffenhoofe, B. C., 73
 Guatemala, 105, 108
 Guiana, British, 168
 Guildford, Lord, 106
 Guilds, 314-5
 Gurney, Hy., 255
 —, Samuel, 52, 159
 Guy's Hospital, 35, 37

 Halifax, N.S., 88, 108
 Hall, Stanley, 306
 Halsted Schools, 149
 Hanley, 45
 Harcourt, Countess of, 19
 Harrington Earl of, 48
 Harris, D. R., 255
 Harrod, Thos., 34, 44, 48

 Hart-Dyke, Sir W., 230
 Hastings, Marquis of, 51, 72, 87, 110
 Hayti, 90, 168 *n.*
 Heard, Jas., 104
 Heerwart, E., 204-6, 245
 Helsingfors, 160
 Hennell, J., 255
 Hereford, Bishop of, 249, 254
 Herolds' Charity, 201-2, 206, 240 *n.*, 246
 Herschell, Lord., 244
 Heywood, J., 147
 Hibernian Society, 87
 Highbury, 97
 Hill, Rowland, 94
 Hindley, C., 144, 152
 Hitchin, 46
 Hoare, Samuel, 81
 Home and Colonial College, 303; Society, 177 *n.*
 Homerton College, 152, 202-3
 Horner, F., 52, 72-94
 —, L., 137
 Horsleydown Monthly Meeting of Quakers, 10, 21 *n.*, 66
 Hostels, 237
 Houlton, Col., 98-9
 Howard, Luke, 35, 52
 Hull, 45, 155
 Hullah, Mr., 212
 Hume, Joseph, 62-3, 79, 94, 122
 Hutchings, Thos., 109
 Huxley, T. H., 240, 309

Improvements, J.L.'s, 10-13, 92
 India, 86, 90, 105, 110, 224-5
 Industry, schools of, 5. *See* Fincham, Lindfield
 Infant schools, 160, 176 *n.*, 179-80, 233, 245-7
 Infantado, Duke del, 89
 Inspection by B.F.S.S., 219-22; government, 125, 127-33
 International College, 239-40
 Ionian Islands, 100, 105-7, 223
 Ireland, J.L. and, 22, 23 *n.*, 45, 48-9, 87-8, 103, 114-16, 166
 Irish lads, 54, 64
 Isleworth, removal of B.R. to, 239-41
 Isleworth Upper School, 243
 Italy, 98, 100, 105, 224

 Jackson, John, 20, 23, 42, 51 *n.*, 60, 62, 72, 81, 97 *n.*
 Jamaica, 109, 110, 167-8

- Janson, Halsey, 73
 Jeffrey, F., 94
 Jersey, Earl of, 243
 Jews, 154, 156, 217, 244; at B.R., 113-14
 John of Austria, Archduke, 89
 Johnson, Sir A., 110
 Jomard, M., 92
 Jones, Rev. J., 73
 —, Rev. T., 73

 Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir J. P., 127, 130, 132, 151, 179, 264, 309
 Kearney, Captain, 89, 167
 Keatinge, M. W., 307
 Kekewich, Sir G., 235, 255
 Kensington Palace, B.F.S.S. meetings at, 61-4
 Kent, 165, 294 *n.*, 295
 —, Duchess of, 97, 159; Duke of, 24, 53-5, 61-3, 67, 72, 87-9, 97, 100, 110
 Keshub Chunder Sen, 224
 Kildare Place Society, 48, 65, 87-8, 114-16
 Kindergarten, 175-6, 196, 200, 204-7, 222-3, 245-6, 303
 King's College, 167
 King's letter, 103
 Kingston, 109
 Kirtland, N., 99
 Knibb, Mr., 109
 Knox, Bishop, 279-80
 Krabschitz, 224

 Laborde, Comte de, 92-3
 Ladies Committee, 75
 Lancashire, 180 *n.*, 231 *n.*
 Lancashire Public School Association, 151, 155
 Lancaster, 46
 —, Elizabeth (Mrs. J.), 31, 44, 60, 66-7. See Bonner
 —, J., 5, 6; youth of, 7; and Friends, 7, 40; as a teacher, 8; his free school, 9; joins Friends, 10; his *Improvements*, 10; visits George III., 13-15; his marriage, 16; plan at Borough Road, 16-18; age of master at, 18; his mottoes and drill, 20; his debts, 21; extravagance, 22; travels, 22-4, 45, 53; arrested for debt, 23; letters quoted, 24; meets Fox, 25-7; formed the B.F.S.S., 32; share in B.F.S.S., 33; his enthusiastic temper, 36; and Allen, 41; faults, 41; his subscribers, 42; as lecturer, 44; illness, 45; his weakness, 46-7; in Ireland, 48-50; in Scotland, 50; and enlarged committee, 52-3; and B.R., 53; George III. and, 55, 57; at Tooting, 59-65; offered salary, 64; resigns, 65; disowned by Quakers, 66; and George IV., 67; his *Narrative*, 68-9 *n.*; attack on B.R., 69; in America, 69-71; Duke of Bedford on, 72; 77, 83, 85, 87, 88, 92-4, 108, 114, 117, 125, 134, 159, 194, 196, 216, 222, 230, 240, 242, 260, 263, 287, 297-9, 311
 Lancaster, Richard, 6-7
 Langton, J., 159, 199 *n.*, 209
 Lansdowne, Marquis of, 42, 72, 87, 94, 226, 254
 Lasteyrie, Comte de, 92
 Lay, —, 306
 Leaving age, 221, 229
 Leeds, 45, 46, 141, 198, 270-1
 Leicester, 152
 Leopold, Prince, 97
Letter to Foster, J.L.'s, 23 *n.*
 Letters of Lancaster quoted, 24, 27, 45-50, 70-1
 Lidgett, J. Scott, 255
 Lieven, Count, 91
 Lima, 108, 169
 Limonade, Duc de, 90
 Lindsay, Dr., 73
 Lindfield School, 104
 Lisbon, 89
 Liverpool, 23, 45, 155, 161, 186, 198, 270-1
 —, Lord, 81-2
 "Living lectures," J.L.'s, 45-6
 Llandovery Conference, 152, 165
 Local authorities, B.F.S.S. and, 236-8
 London, 101, 186, 204, 231 *n.*, 292-5, 310, 315
 —, North, 237
 — County Council, 235
 — Education Committee, 312
 London School Board, 187, 204 *n.*, 205, 216, 247-8
 — University, 302
 Lowe, R., his Code, 178-9, 232, 267-9, 316
 Lowndes, I., 106-7
 Luneret, 92

- Lushington, Dr., 145, 147-8
 Lynn, 25
- Macaulay, Zachary, 54
 McKenna, R., 255, 274-5, 277, 281-2
 Mackenzie, Sir G., 44, 51 *n.*
 Mackintosh, Sir J., 73, 94
 MacRae, K., 34, 47, 196 *n.*, 197
 — Mrs. (*see* Springman), 135-6, 146, 159, 195 *n.*, 195-7
 MacSwiney, Mr., 168
 Madagascar, 105, 111, 225. *See* Malagasy
 Madras, 110. *See* Bell
 Madrid, 89, 167, 224
 Mahomedans, 217
 Maiden Bradley School, 21-3, 33-4, 46, 51
 Maitland, John, 52
 Malacca, 111
 Malagasy students, 245
 Malta, 100, 106
 Managers, school, 315-7
 Manchester, 45-6, 198, 204, 207 *n.*, 218, 223, 270-1, 297
 — and Salford Committee, 151
 —, Duke of, and J.L., 24
 — University, 306
 Manley, Miss, 195 *n.*, 241-2, 255
 Manning, Cardinal, quoted, 279
 Manning, Miss, 204 *n.*
 Manor Place house, 163
Manual, The, 77, 86, 89, 110
 Maria Grey College, 303
 Marmalade, Duc de, 90
 Marriage, J.L.'s, 16
 Marsh, Prof. H., 153
 Marshall, J., 255
 Marten, J. H., 73
 Martin, F., 91-3
 Martineau, John, 73, 94
 Martinet, —, 12
 Mary Datchelor T. Coll., 303
 Marylebone, 231 *n.*
 Masters, youth of school-, 18-20. *See* Teachers
 Mauritius, 105
 Mehemet Ali, 110, 170
 Melbourne, Bishop of, 216
 Melksham, J.L. at, 21 *n.*
 Memorial of B.F.S.S. (1838), 128-30
 Messmer, —, 306
 Metrical System, 207 *n.*
 Meumann, —, 306
 Mexico, 108
- Michael, Grand Duke, 97
 Michaelis, Mme., 204 *n.*
 Mico charity, 167
 Middendorf, Herr, 204 *n.*
 Middlesex County Council, 243
 Militarism, 212 *n.*
 Mill, James, 52-3, 73, 79, 82, 94-5, 229 *n.*, 318
 Millar, James, 85, 98-9, 104
 Missionary societies and B.F.S.S., 40, 54 *n.*, 111
 Missolonghi, 106
 Model School and B.R., 213 *n.*
 Moira, Earl of. *See* Marquis of Hastings
 Monitors, 8, 16, 18-20, 121, 157, 162, 203, 297, 299, 300
 Monkswearmouth, 197
 Monteagle, Lord, 145-7
 Monte Video, 108
 Montreal, 88, 108-9
 Moore, Daking, 34
 Moore, H. K., 115, 204 *n.*
 Moran, Mr., 92 *n.*
 Moravians, 170
 Morley, S., 143, 146, 152, 202, 226
 Morrell, Dr., 208
 Morrish, H. G., 255
 —, T. B., 235, 239, 255
 Morton, Francis, 201
 Moscow, 100
 Moseley, Mr., 137
 Mottoes, Lancaster's, 20
 Mount-Temple, Lord, 226. *See* Cowper-Temple
 Mozley, Mr., 311
 Mundella, H. J., 187, 206-7, 213, 215-6, 226, 230, 240, 253 *n.*
 Music, 212
- Napoleon, 87, 92, 284
Narrative of Oppression, J.L.'s, 68-9 *n.*
 National Education Union, 189-90
 National Society founded, 49, 50, 53, 55-8, 81, 103, 123, 127, 130-1, 142-3, 158, 163, 263, 299-300, 308
 National Union of Teachers, 317
 Neale Exhibition, 202
 Nelson, N.Z., 169
 Newbury, 46
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, 46, 50, 198, 244
 Newcastle-under-Lyme, 45
 Newcastle's Commission, 151, 176-8, 182 *n.*, 264, 267-80

- New Granada, 169
 Newman, H., 73
 —, J. H., 140
 New South Wales, 90, 168-9
 New York, 69, 70
 New Zealand, 169
 Noel, Baptist, 149
 Normal schools. *See* B.R. and T. Colls.
 Norris, Mr., 267
 Northampton, 46
 Northfleet School, 201, 238
 North Shields, 46
 Norton, Lord, 267
 Nottingham, 39, 46
 Nova Scotia, 88

 Oakeley, Sir H. E., 255
 O'Connell, D., 114-5
 Osman Effendi Narigi, 110
 Otaheite, 54
 Ould, R., 88
Outlines of a Plan, 21
 "Overpressure," 246
 Owen, Sir Hugh, 166, 201
 —, R., 38, 44, 50, 81, 91, 94
 Oxford University, 302, 317

 Pakington, Sir John, 176
 Palmerston, 171, 178, 197
 Paris, schools in, 92-4, 99, 110, 295
 Party spirit, Duke of Bedford on, 72
 Payne, J., 204 *n.*
 Pease family, 198-9
 —, A. F., 255
 —, H., 226
 —, Sir J. W., 199, 226, 253 *n.*
 Peel, Sir R., 103, 114, 124, 132, 139
 Peru, 108, 169
 Pestalozzi, 86, 90, 117
 Petersham, 238
 Philadelphia, 69
Philanthropist, The, 18-20, 54
 Phillips, —, 165-6
 —, Joseph, 54 *n.*
 Pickton, John, 79, 83, 95-6, 104-5, 112, 146, 159
 Pictet, Prof., 90
 Piret, M., 99
 Place, Francis, 38, 62-3, 73, 82-4, 87, 94-5, 117, 153, 188, 229 *n.*, 287
 Plato, 256-8
 Plymouth, 219

 Poland, 105
 Pole, Chief Secretary, 48
 Politi, Dr., 106
 Polytechnic, Borough, 239, 240 *n.*
 Porter, J., 255
 Portsmouth, Earl of, 254
 Portugal, 167
 —, Baroness de, 204 *n.*
 Practising schools, 209-10, 242-3.
 See B.R.
 Praetorius, Miss, 204 *n.*
 Prater, Wm., 73
 Price, Principal, 242
 Printing office, 21, 34, 42, 53
 Prison, J.L. in, 23
 Prizes at B.R., 17
 Protestantism, 86, 92-4, 224
 Prussia, 89, 122
 Punishments at B.R., 17
 Pupil-teachers, 144, 157, 162-5, 180-2, 203, 236-7, 297
 Puseyism, 140
 Pye Smith, P. H., 255

 Quakers and B.F.S.S., 34-5, 38, 94, 212, 216; and education, 38-40, 42; and J.L., 15, 48-9, 66, 91, 96 *n.*, 183 *n.*
Quarterly Review, 55-6
 Queen's scholars (*see* pupil-teachers), 162, 164 *n.*, 180, 195, 300
 Quito, 108

 Radama, King, 111
 Radford, G., 255
 Ragged School Union, 165
 Raikes, Robert, 4, 39
 Raleigh, Sir T., 255
 Ramsden, Dr., 25
 Rataffé, Prince, 111
 Rate aid, 177, 189
 Reading at B.R., 208
 Reading books, 73, 82-3, 160-1
 Reay, Lord, 254
 Recitation at B.R., 208
 Reed, Sir Charles, 205
 Reform Bill, 116, 125, 175, 309
 Rein, —, 306
 Religious attitude of B.F.S.S., 94-5, 247; character of B.F.S.S., 38
 Religious education, 56, 113-15, 129, 139-40, 177, 190-2, 211, 214-17, 253-4, 259-60, 277-8. *See* Bible
 Rendle, Dr., 9 *n.*
Report of J.L.'s Progress, 21

- "Revised Code" of 1861-2, 178-80, 182
 Ricardo, D., 73, 94
 Rice, Spring, 115, 124
 Richmond, Duke of, 48
 Ripon, Dean of, 255
 Roberts, W., 166
 Robson, Mr., 232
 Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duc de, 92
 Roebuck, T., 122, 126, 151
 Rodgers, —, 224
 Rogers, Samuel, 44, 51 *n.*, 52, 85
 Roman Catholics, 265, 272
 Romilly, Sir S., 52, 72, 94
 Ronge, Mme., 204 *n.*
 Rosslyn, Earl, 72
 Rotherhithe, 152
 Rotterdam, 90
 Rowlands, Principal, 242
 Rowlett, W., 146 *n.*, 201
 Royal Lancasterian Institution, 65
 Rules of B.F.S.S., 73-6
 Rural colleges, 163 *n.*; schools, 21-2
 Russell, Countess of, 253 *n.*
 —, Lord John (Earl), 102, 116, 122, 127-30, 136, 140, 149-51, 159-60, 171, 175, 190-1, 196, 213, 225-6, 232, 270
 —, Rollo, 255
 Russia, 90-1, 100, 105
 Ryder, Miss, 205
 Ryle, Bishop, 279

 Sadler, M., 286 *n.*
 Saffron Walden T. Coll., 176, 195 *n.*, 207, 233-8, 242-3, 245-6
 St. Asaph, Bishop of, 276-7, 281-2
 St. John, N.B., 109
 St. Mark's College, 300
 St. Martin's Hall Exhibition, 165
 St. Mary's College, 303; Hall, 303
 St. Petersburg, 100, 104
 Salisbury, 247
 Salmon, David, 9 *n.*, 242, 255.
 See Preface
 Salter, E., 220-2
 —, W. H. G., 255
 Samoa, 170, 225
 Samuel, H., 310
 Sand-desks, 17
 Sanderson, J., 73
 Santa Maura, 106
 Sarum, Archdeacon of, 55
 Saunders, R., 136, 219-20, 222, 225-6
 Savage Island, 225
 Saxe-Weimar, Duke of, 89
 Saxony, 122
 Scandinavia, 100
 Schlatter, G., 92
 School accommodation, 203
 School boards, 270-3, 311, 316
 School-building, 181
 School-houses, 157
 Schoolmasters, British, 137-8 (*see* Teachers); committee on, 79-80; J.L.'s, 46-7
 Schoolmistresses, 43
 Schools, B.F.S.S. and, 238. *See* British Schools
 Schools Inquiry Commission, 285, 289, 291-2
 Schwabe, Dr., 85, 89, 99, 104
 Science and Art Department, 181 *n.*
 Science classes, 221
 Scotch education, 1, 2
 Scotland, 49-50, 88, 166, 263, 287, 296
 Scott, D. D., 116
 Scott, L., 195 *n.*, 196
 Scripture lessons, 110. *See* Bible and Religious Education
 Séailles, Gabriel, 257, 259 *n.*
 Secondary education, 183, 232, 284-96; authorities on, 290 *n.*; statistics of, 290, 295
 Secular education, 189-90, 280-1
 Seeböhm, F., 156, 215
 Shadwell, 202
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, 139, 140
 Shakespeare's Walk Fund, 202
 Sheffield, 45, 145, 186
 Shefford, 46
 Sherriff, Miss, 204 *n.*
 Siamese, 245
 Sidmouth, Lord, 81-2
 Sierra Leone, 54, 90, 105
 "Simultaneous" teaching, 161
 Singleton, Wm., 39
 Skirrow, J., 73
 Slade, Robt., 73
 Slates, 17, 21
 Smallbones, Miss, 199 *n.*
 Smith, A. F., 208
 —, J., 72
 —, W., 52, 72, 94
 —, W. H., 279
 Snell, B. J., 255
 Social Democrats, 314
 Social problems in education, 313.
 See Citizenship

- Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, 1, 35
 Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 299
 Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 4, 55
 Society of Sons of Patrick, 54
 Somerset, Duke of, 22
 Somerville, Lord, 13, 22, 51
 South Africa, 170
 South America, 105, 107-8
 Southey, R., 55-6
 South Kensington, 165, 246
 South Seas, 170
 Spafford, W. A., 199 *n.*, 255
 Spain, 105, 167
 Spelling reform, 207 *n.*
 Spencer, Earl, 230, 254
 —, K., 73
 Spicer, Evan, 239, 255
 Springman, Ann, 78, 105, 112. *See* MacRae
 Stanhope, Dean, 37
 —, Lieut.-Col., 92
 Stanley, A. P., 213, 226, 253 *n.*
 —, Bishop, 154
 —, Lord, 115, 127
 — of Alderley, Lord, 235, 254
 State aid, 122-4. *See* Government
 State normal school, 129-30
 Stavanger, 100
 Steele, Miss, 195 *n.*, 242
 Sterry, Anthony, 16 *n.*, 20, 66
 Stockholm, 100
 Stockport, J. L. at, 45
 Stockwell T. Coll., 135, 160, 175, 181, 195-6, 199-200, 204-6, 210-12, 224, 236-8, 240-6
 Strathcona, Lord, 254
 Straw-plait, 13. *See* Corston
 Street, 244
 Students at B.R., 103, 135-7
 Sturge, George, 201
 —, Thomas, 16 *n.*, 20, 42, 51 *n.*, 73
 Sully, James, 213
 Summer schools, 157, 162
 Sunday schools, 4, 299. *See* Raikes
 Sunderland, 50
 Superintendence Committee, 80
 Surrey, 294 *n.*
 Sussex, Duke of, 50, 61-2, 72, 86, 97, 136, 159
 Swansea, 22-3, 175; T. Coll., 198-200, 237, 242-3
 Sweden, 89, 105
 Swinburne, Sir J., 72
 Switzerland, 294, 296
 Sydney, 168-9
 Tahiti, 170
 "Tapahoe," 54
 Tasmania, 169
 Tavistock, Marquis of, 72
 Teachers as missionaries, 117; — ignorance of, 137; in 1858, 176; — status, 315-8; superannuation, 232; supply of, 181, 195, 197, 203; training of, 11, 252, 264-5, 297-307; untrained, 203-4
 Temple, Archbishop, 226, 253 *n.*
 Thame School, 165
 Thompson, F., 255
 Thomson, Jas., 107, 170
 Thornton, H., 52
Times, The, 184
 Tolling, Isaac, 54
 Tomlinson, Miss, 197
 Tooting, J. L. at, 58-63
 Toynbee, Arnold, 3
 Tracey, S. W., 73
 Training Colleges, 180, 233, 237, 244-5. *See* B.R., Bangor, Darlington, Saffron Walden, Stockwell, Swansea, etc.
 Tremenheere, Mr., 131-2
 Triarians, 245
 Trimmer, Mrs., 4 *n.*, 12-13, 15, 55
 Town-child, problem of the, 310
 Turner, —, 12
 Tweedmouth, Lord, 276-7
 Two years' training, 137-8
 Tyndall, J., 240
 Umritsur, 224
 Undenominational education, 186-7, 189, 216-7, 308-9, 318
 Unitarians, 146-56, 194
 University, London, 245; training, 236-7, 245, 303-5
 Unwin, W. J., 152, 202
 Ussher, Archbishop, 312
 Van de Linde & Co., G., 255
 Valparaiso, 108
 Vander Crom, J. F., 73, 79
 Variety in education, 287-9
 Vaughan bequest, 244
 Vera Cruz, 108
 Vevers, John, 34, 46, 48, 114
 Vice-President of Committee of Council, 178, 267

- Victoria, Queen, 159
 Victoria, N.Z., 169
 Villabolos, Dr., 167
 Village schools, 219. *See* Rural
 Vivian, Hussey, 201
 Voluntary education, 125-6, 230-1

 Wakefield, Edward, 82
 Wales, 88, 158, 165-6, 198-200, 218,
 222-3, 231 *n.*, 276, 295, 306. *See*
 Bangor, Swansea
 —, Prince of. *See* Edward VII.
 —, Princess of, 67
 Wallbridge, E., 135, 167
 Walters, I., 83
 Warburton, Canon, 255
 Ward, Isaac, 54
 Warner, Fr., 246
 Warrington, 45
 Washington, D. C., 69, 88
 Watchet, 22
 Watson, H. C., 255
 Watson, S., 255
 Watts, I., 12
 Weimar, 89, 204 *n.*
 Wellington, Duke of, 48, 89
 Wells, H. G., 288
 Wesleyans, 217, 265
 West Indies, 86, 105, 109-10, 158,
 167-8, 224
 West London Lancasterian Asso-
 ciation, 82-3, 95, 229 *n.*

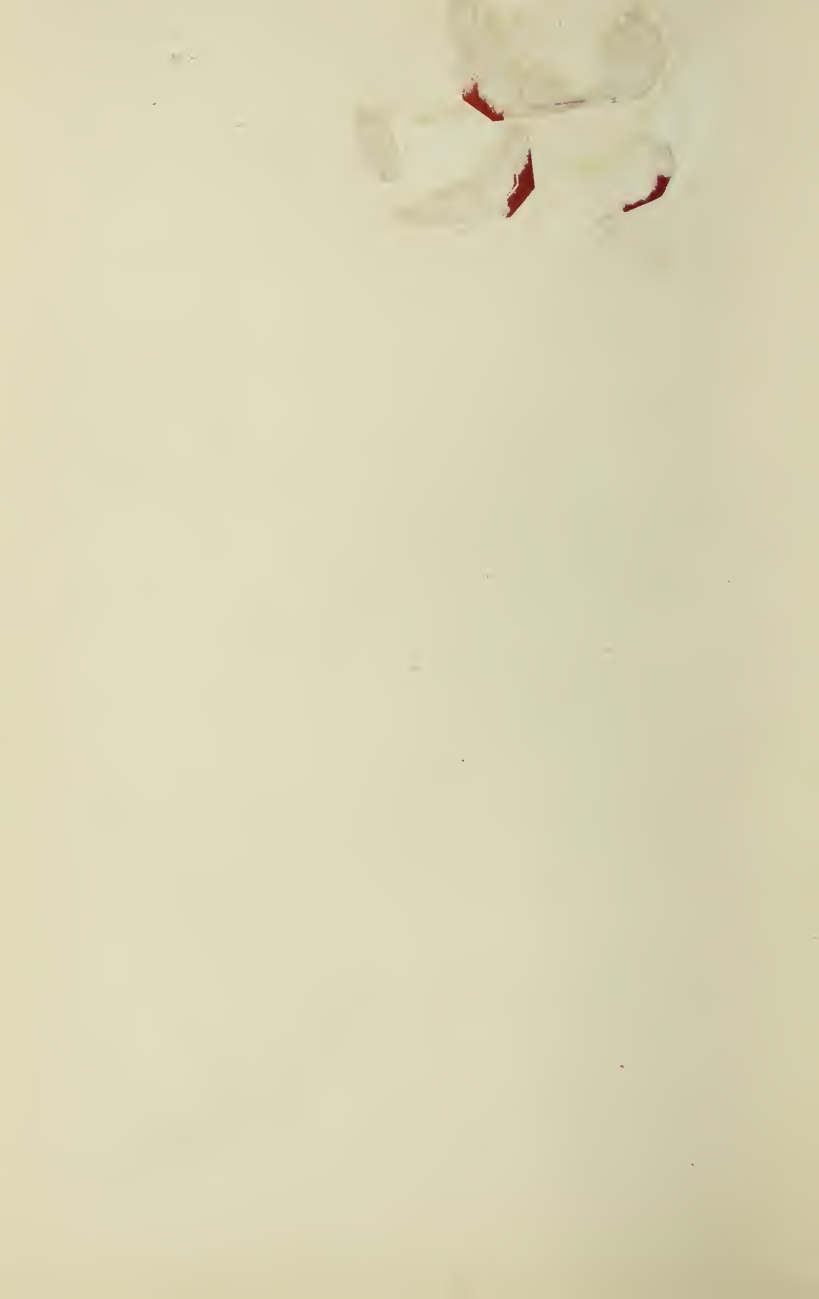
 West Riding County Council, 291,
 294
 West Square house, 163
 Wharnccliffe, Lord, 131-3
 Whitbread, S., 42, 51 *n.*, 52, 62, 68,
 72, 81, 94, 121, 284, 287
 Whitehead, Sir J., 255
 Whiteley, G. C., 255
 Wilberforce, Wm., 52-4, 94, 109,
 158-9
 Wilks, Mr., 218-9, 226
 —, M., 73
 William IV., 121
 Williams, David, 201, 242
 —, W. P., 195 *n.*, 255
 Wilson, T., 73
 Winchester, 247
 Withers, H., 195 *n.*, 241 *n.*, 253 *n.*
 Woburn, 24, 46
 Wood, Mr., 153
 —, Mrs., 242
 Woodall, W., 204 *n.*
 Woods, S., 52, 73
 Worcester, 45
 Wordsworth, W., 2-3, 165
 Wormell, R., 255

 York, 45, 247
 Yorkshire, 47. *See* West Riding

 Ziller, —, 306







UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 064131540